FORUM

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Let's open the book!

Trial By Court-Martial

By David V. Cleary

Automotive Advertising Writer

THE war dead have been buried; the wounded are in hospitals. Allied prisoners of war have been liberated; high point veterans are being discharged. The story on all these men is an open book.

But what do you know about the thousands[1] of soldiers who are now confined in disciplinary training centers and barracks following trial by courts-martial?

You don't know? Neither do their families.

It might seem unbelivable, but, in the case of offenders against military law, the Army does not send routine official information to the next of kin. The only clue to what has happened is a cancellation of the allotment (if any) to dependents.

These men, and their families, just have to sweat it out. The son of a friend of mine wrote his folks that he had got into trouble and was in an overseas disciplinary training center. He said it was "very serious"—no other details. He said: "You have two other fine children. Try to forget I ever existed."

Their imaginations convinced them that he was about to be executed. Later after making a special trip to Washington, his mother learned that he had been involved in a shooting scrape in which a civilian (foreign) had been killed. He had been sentenced to confinement in a penitentiary, at hard labor, for the rest of his natural life. He has served more than a year of that sentence, and his folks are still confused about the full details of the case. It's hard for them to believe that a boy with an immaculate record should go from high school to the Army and suddenly turn so bad.

One of my old buddies wrote his folks that he was in a "jam"—but not to worry about it; he'd handle it alone. His folks sent me a V-mail full of confidence that, because of his long and honorable record in combat, the boy's trouble couldn't be very serious; but would I look into it? I was scared stiff; I'd heard of some of those sentences. I wrote the boy and he confided he had been tried for "misbehavior before the enemy." The sentence: 25 years at hard labor. I sent his folks a noncommittal letter about it.

[1]Actual count, as of May 31, 1945, was 33,519.

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Ever hear of "misbehavior before the enemy?" The Article of War 75 covers it. In this particular case, the boy had been through a lot of sticky going. Trained as a staff officer, never as a platoon leader, he had suddenly been shipped overseas as a replacement—and soon was assigned as an infantry platoon leader. He caught on fast. He went through Northern France, through the Siegfried Line, through the Hurtgen Forest (little publicized, but one of the bloodiest fights of the war).

Finally it began to get him down. He went through a four-day offensive without blankets, without water . . . and without ammunition. He took 34 men out on a night patrol . . . and came back with 17. They pulled him out of the line and sent him back to the rear, and gave him enough pills to put him to sleep for a few nights.

He wrote that the "outgoing mail" scared him. That's bad. The throbbing whisper of your own artillery overhead, and the echoing bump . . . bump-bump . . . bump of the battery volley should be reassuring sounds.

After a few days in the rear he got an order to go back into the line. He said he didn't feel qualified to lead a rifle platoon—he told this to the superior officer who brought the order. It was a conversation between two men, held behind the lines. The superior heard him and left.

Next day he was shown a charge sheet. Violation of the Article of War 75. He didn't know just how to take it. He was brought to trial; found guilty; sentenced to 25 years at hard labor, forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due and dismissal from the service. Then he was locked up in an improvised one-room stockade with several others.

Within a few days something happened. Von Runstedt's Bulge offensive struck. My friend was yanked out of confinement and given a combat mission. He discharged it well, under moderate to heavy fire. He was given a second dangerous mission; he discharged it well. When the drive stopped he was put back in confinement and later sent back to a disciplinary training center in the communications zone.

I took a deep interest in this case; but my friend couldn't enlighten me much. So when I came back to the States I went to the Judge Advocate General's Office in Washington, and heard a summary of the case—mostly details I already knew. Then the J.A.G. officer said: "This case has just been reviewed."

"Reviewed?" It sounded hopeful.

"Yes," he said. "The sentence was ordered executed without change. Place of confinement was designated as—. This man's status changed from officer to prisoner as of midnight—."

I swallowed hard. "Pretty rough, isn't it?"

"Rough!" he exclaimed. "Good lord, man—don't you realize this offense could carry the death penalty?"

I nodded wearily. There's no room for sentiment in military justice.

"Does it say anything in there about combat exhaustion?" I asked. "When this man was sent to the

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rear for a rest, was he examined by a medic?"

The officer nodded. "Yes, it's mentioned in the record of the trial and in the review. The surgeon didn't examine him; but the surgeon testified that he didn't believe the man had combat exhaustion."

I tried another angle. "Was there any mention, there, of the combat service he put in *after* his trial? Isn't that an important point?"

The officer scanned his papers. "No, there's no mention here of that service. Yes, it is an important point."

"How do I go about getting it into the record?"

"Well, this man can write to the officer he served under at that time."

"Suppose the officer he served under doesn't bother to reply?"

"In that case, ask the Adjutant General to follow it up. State the details and request the Adjutant General to make it a part of this man's record."

CLEMENCY BOARD

"What about clemency?"

"They come up before a clemency board, normally within six months of the time of their confinement—and then once a year after that. Those boards meet at the place of confinement. Besides that, there are several War Department clemency boards meeting here in Washington, giving separate consideration to all those cases. Those men will have a better chance after they get back to this country." He paused, then added: "Anyhow, I wouldn't worry too much about it, if I were you. There'll probably be an amnesty, as after the last war."

"Anything official on that yet?"

"No."

"Just one more question: Would it help any if this man's folks engaged a civilian attorney to look into the case?"

"No—not a bit."

It wasn't very encouraging. But at least I had a legitimate legal point by the tail: the after-trial combat service hadn't been mentioned in the records.

I took this to a senator, and he agreed it was a sound point. He said he would ask for a new review of the case. All this took place early in the fall. Weeks later the Adjutant General dispatched the requested follow-up letter. Four months later the Senator gave me a short summary of the case, but no word of a new review.

Why all the mystery? I want to know why, and I'm still asking questions.

The parents of all those men in confinement—they, too, want to know why. But they don't ask many questions.

In the first place, they don't know where to turn for information. They don't understand the Army set-up.

In the second place, they're hushed by a natural fear of what the neighbors might think.

So they're sweating it out. The war's over. But still there's no "open book" on the men in confinement.

To these parents, it doesn't seem like the American way.

Some of them have asked me questions—questions which indicate they don't know much about the court-martial system. I've answered the questions as best I could.

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But then the Army court-martial system doesn't require many lawyers. The bulk of Army justice is handled "in addition to their other duties" by troop officers. A man on trial for his life, for example, might conceivably be defended by an officer counsel who was a hardware salesman in civilian life, and whose preparation of the case took less than a week-end.

I was a company commander. Under the Article of War 104, I could punish enlisted minor offenders (first offense A.W.O.L., missing reveille, "goofing off" in general) with restriction, withholding of pass privileges, or extra fatigue, for not more than seven consecutive days. A man could appeal to *my* Commanding Officer if he thought the punishment I gave him was unfair. This was "company punishment." It had many ramifications; but they needn't be mentioned here.

If more serious trouble arose (second offense A.W.O.L., disorderly conduct, larceny, etc.), it was my duty to prefer charges against a man and recommend court-martial. Normally, charges were preferred in this way by a soldier's own company commander, even though the complaint may have come from an outsider.

It was up to me to select a specific Article of War for the charge, and to recommend the type of court. This was the extent of my influence. But don't forget that the choice of Article of War (and the "specification" thereunder), and the choice of court can make a big difference on a man's sentence. Hesitation in carrying out an order, for example, could be viewed as *"failure* to obey" (A.W. 96), or as *"disobeying* an order" (A.W. 64, A.W. 65). The first night bring one month's confinement; the second, six months or more.

Normally, these court-martial charges were forwarded to the regimental commander, or — in the case of a separate battalion — to the battalion commander.

This commander was required to appoint an investigating officer to look into the charges. The investigating officer was required by law to be completely impartial. But remember, he was doing this work for his boss.

This commander then appointed a court. A regimental or separate battalion commander is authorized to appoint a Summary (one-man) Court or a Special Court with not less than three members. A Summary Court could sentence a man to not more than one month's confinement, and could levy a fine not to exceed two-thirds' of one month's pay. A Special Court could sentence a man to not more than six month's confinement, and could fine him not more than two-thirds' of his pay per month for six months.

The president and members of this Special Court, and the prosecutor (Trial Judge Advocate), and the defense counsel—all were appointed by this same commanding officer. (The accused has his choice of counsel; but he rarely takes it.)

After they passed sentence, it went to this same commanding officer for review.

This commanding officer could do even better than that. He could not legally be the accuser on any

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case to be tried in his own court; but he could certainly "suggest" a course of action to the company commander (his subordinate) who did prefer the charges. Thus he could influence *every* phase of a case.

In the event of trouble serious enough to warrant General Court-Martial (murder, sentinel sleeping on post in wartime) the commander must forward the charges to an officer who has authority to appoint a General Court (normally, in tactical units, this would be the commander of a Division or larger unit). A General Court has the power to give the death penalty, or confinement for life, or a dishonorable discharge. It has not less than five members, including a "law member," who may or may not be a lawyer. It's sentences, of course, are subject to legal review by higher headquarters.

There are many other details about this General Court; but we needn't go into them here.

CASE IN POINT

One point I do want to mention here, however, is the fact that our regimental or separate battalion commander handles the investigation of cases (through his appointed representative) before sending them up to a General Court.

Let's see how this works, or *can* work, in practice.

This case is true. It is not typical. It merely shows what *can* happen under the present system:

A complaint comes in from Division headquarters. A couple of German women have told the Division Provost Marshal that some of the men of Battalion X raped them. The soldiers have already been placed under arrest, and locked up, pending investigation.

The Commanding Officer, Battalion X, appoints one of his officers to investigate the case. The investigator interviews the soldiers and (through an interpreter) interviews the women. He also interviews witnesses. The soldiers can present no witnesses. The women can present one male witness, a boarder at their home.

The Commanding Officer wants to know: is it rape, or is it fraternization? If rape, the case must go to a General Court, and the sentence (in the event of conviction) must be either death, or life imprisonment. If fraternization, the case can go to a Special Court and the sentence (in event of conviction) will not exceed six moths' confinement and/or fine. The Commanding Officer wants stern justice done; he wants to be known as a strict disciplinarian.

The investigating officer reports the soldiers admit having intimate relations with the women; but insist it was by mutual agreement. The women, however, insist it was rape, and their witness agrees.

One much-discussed point is that the soldiers were armed. This, according to the investigating officer, would indicate force. It's the "clincher."

I was just a spectator. I mentioned that all soldiers in the area were required, by Army order, to carry arms at all times. I pointed out that German women were getting monotonous with their rape charges: the charge was being used

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as a fiendishly vindictive sabotage measure; it was being used to "save face" after neighbors discovered a woman's indiscretions; it was being used to get a legal abortion in the event of conception. I questioned the impartiality of the boarder-witness. But, of course, I was admittedly prejudiced against Nazi in general. And I had seen something of the morals of the nation which sponsored breeding camps for its youth in order to help build an army.

Had this investigation been handled by higher headquarters it might, or might not, have had the same result. I like to think it at least would have been more exhaustive.

The case went to a General Court. The charge was rape. The chief witness was the male boarder. He started to tell the court at one point (via interpreter) that "Mrs. —was easy to be had. . ." but this was objected to as being injurious to the character of a witness. One of the women protested that she "didn't like to be intimate immediately with strange men." One of the women admitted she took time off, during the evening, to sit in bed with a shawl over her shoulders (and no other garment) and have a glass of wine and a cigarette with her "attackers." I was a spectator in the court, and heard what anybody else would have heard.

The prisoners told me the verdict was guilty. The sentence was life imprisonment at hard labor.

And then something unexpected happened.

The Counter-Intelligence Corps—not the Court—picked up the star witness, the boarder, on espionage charges. He had not been investigated by anyone else. His testimony was immediately discredited. The case was thrown out; it became a fraternization case and eventually the men got a six months' fine.

This case was not typical; but it illustrates some mechanics of courts-martial.

Military justice varies with individual commanders. Most of them are intelligent; some are not. Most of them are fair; some are not.

A commander can court-martial a man—or simply straighten him out verbally and drop the charges. A record of many courts-martial should indicate poor leadership rather than good discipline in an organization; but somehow the commanders who avoid courts often get a name for being "soft."

A commander can run a fair court. Or he can dictate its procedure. It all depends on the individual.

Aware of all this, many of the officers I've talked with feel that the Judge Advocate General's Department should have a bigger share in Army justice—including the complete handling of General Courts, and the direct supervision of Special Courts. At least they should guarantee a professional defense for all men accused of serious affenses.

And it seems only American today to suggest that courts-martial activities be an open book. A little publicity might draw many constructive suggestions from people who are well qualified to speak.

• Sign in a Michigan tavern: "Our aim is to make our cuspidors the most sanitary in town—Your aim will help."

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A review of worker's education

Education for Labor

By Mark Starr

Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union

THE celebration, April 5-6, of 25 years' activity by the Workers Education Bureau makes an evaluation of the present trends in workers' education timely. During this quarter century the difficulty of defining workers' education has continued, but obviously it implies that there are people who do not have to work for a living and that workers, who have to sell their labor-power in order to live, have their own special needs in education. And when the workers, as distinguished from non-workers, organize into trade unions then workers' education has a constituency.

Workers' education differs from other forms of adult education also in its subject matter and approach to social institutions. A story often used may well be repeated here to suggest the difference: A home economics teacher had conscientiously instructed her class on the methods for using the bones obtained for a few cents at the meat store to produce highly nutritive soup. She finally paused for questions. A gaunt lady at the back finally rose and said: "Where did the meat go off those bones in the first place?"

While orthodox education must content itself with describing existing institutions, workers' education probes farther back and more deeply to ask challenging questions about wages, profits, prices and similar social problems. Naturally, in large part, the workers' organizations and particularly the trade unions must, at least in the early stages, develop this kind of education for themselves because no existing institution is likely to think dangerous thoughts and ask disturbing questions about things as they are. Hence workers' education in every country was developed as self-education by the labor unions or by closely associated radical groups. Ideally, it is education *of, by* and *for* the organized workers. It specializes in social science, helping the workers to get more rather than to produce more. It deals with the immediate aims of the trade unions in the light of ultimate purposes.

Mr. Joseph Dorfman in *The Economic Mind in American Civilization*: 1606-1865 writes that "a native systematic literature on economics" has developed slowly in the United States because the academic world was hostile to radical criticism and proposals for social change. He notes that the colleges were organized with religious dogmas as their basis and that when economic reformers attacked the *status quo,* they perforce attacked the colleges which upheld it. Mr. Dorfman reminds

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us that Jefferson was thought to be a dangerous radical and that the schoolmen at Yale and elsewhere accused him of undermining religion. For a long time the American colleges would not tolerate Jeremy Bentham because he did not accept the current theological dogmas and likewise they opposed Herbert Spencer, Thomas Buckle and Auguste Comte. As might be expected, the Southern colleges defended slavery. Fortunately, in our colleges today there are more opportunities for radical criticism although, in the main, they still remain the intellectual pillars of the established order.

Just as economic theories have been changed by industrial changes, so the nature of workers' education reflects the changing social climate in industrial relations. If the trade unions are under attack and if the employers are endeavoring, as they did in the past, to set up company unions to split and to break the labor organizations, then workers' education will be militant. It will develop a fighting culture and sharpen the workers' understanding of class antagonisms. If, on the other hand, as in the New Deal decade, 1933-1943, labor wins legal recognition and status and employers are prepared to cooperate, then the unions are prepared to pass from a psychology of conflict to one of cooperation. Instead of training men and women to lead picket lines, it will train union members to become effective union officers and to master the art of peaceful negotiation around the collective bargaining table.

The results of such educational work can be checked in many ways. For example, if the new member coming into the union is given instruction in his rights and duties, his loyalty to the union is likely to be a more effective and long-time intelligent affair. An educated and alert rank and file means that the officers have to be "on their toes" and that no gangster can "muscle in." In some instances, workers' education includes officers' qualification courses which must be taken by would-be full-time trade union officers, and such "civil service" requirements not only improve the quality of the candidate but favorably impress the outside public. In the wartime years, the effect of good educational work was demonstrated by the willingness of union members to help all sections of the labor movement and to participate in community relief organization. (See the author's chapter, "The Union As A Welfare Agency," in the forthcoming *Human Relations In Industry*, McGraw Hill, for details.)

Workers' education, additionally, prepares the members of the labor movement to influence public opinion and to make known the record of the labor unions over the centuries as an effective welfare agency, achieving many desirable things from which the community as a whole received considerable benefit. Workers' education measures itself by the activity of its students. The political awareness and the consequent activity by Labor in both the industrial and the political field are the best criteria of whether the educational activity has been successful.

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The methods used in workers' education are as varied as in other forms of education. It ranges from "spot lectures" in union meetings to long courses of formal study. In later years, to meet the demands of the New Deal recruits, the union has been at pains to provide opportunities for fun and recreation in addition to study classes. These range all the way from beer parties to ski clubs, from hill-billy bands to ball teams, from charm classes to bowling. Some attention is now given to informing the members on current legislation and on adequate provisions for health and safety.

COLLEGE PROGRAMS

Because trade union strength increased so rapidly in the New Deal and wartime years, the institutions of higher learning showed some interest in the field of industrial relations and workers' education. An investigation, carried through by Dr. Caroline Ware for the American Labor Education Service, listed some 90 institutions as more or less active in the field. Her report gives her first-hand investigation into twelve of these institutions.

The experiments have varied considerably. State College, Pennsylvania, has successfully carried on educational work for unions as part of its Extension Division. Its Extension staff pioneered in an effort to get Congress to carry through the hitherto neglected provision in federal law which not only gave financial aid to the farmers but specifically mentioned "mechanics" as recipients for such aid. Currently, the United States Department of Labor is projecting a workers' education extension service somewhat analogous to that developed by the United States Department of Agriculture. As a first Step, Secretary of Labor, Schwellenbach, has appointed a Labor advisory committee.

Already during the war, the Division of Labor Standards, United States Department of Labor, has helped unions to train their shop stewards and to publish manuels for the instruction of officers. However, so far the United States Department of Labor—in striking contrast to the Department of Commerce — thinks it cannot train representatives of the trade unions without including foremen in its educational efforts. The "L" in its title does not really stand for "Labor." Short-sighted Congressmen will undoubtedly see dangers in giving the trade unions such educational facilities although if they were wise they would see that it is a good and necessary investment of public money and more conducive to good industrial relations than anti-union punitive laws upon which they spend so much time and energy.

The Harvard Fellowships, now in their fourth year, approached the unions directly. Under the leadership of Professor Sumner H. Slichter, unions were approached and asked to choose members for their potentiality in leadership and regardless of their scholastic records. Some of the unions sent their full-time officers for the eight months course. In every instance the students came from trade unions and were expected to return to union service. The course included the understanding of financial statements by corporations, personnel methods, and labor

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problems. Some of the work was done in conjunction with the Business School because the Fellowships were jointly maintained by the Business School of Public Administration. A constant stream of men and women prominent in government departments and in trade unions has kept the Trade Union Fellows in touch with current labor problems by off-the-record weekly supper sessions. The war limited the number of students available but the scheme shows considerable vitality and expects expansion. In the main, the students have returned to their unions and applied the skills and knowledge received and, as a by-product, have enriched the Harvard program by their practical knowledge of Labor problems.

CORNELL

At Cornell University the setting up of the New York School of Industrial and Labor Relations was the climax of a long committee investigation guided by Assemblyman Irving M. Ives. First of all there was a prolonged investigation whether labor problems and industrial relations were effectively taught in the colleges of the United States. Mr. Ives worked from the premise that if labor and management met around the negotiating table, then it would be a good idea if labor and management studied conjointly. He was able to get the school underwritten by Governor Dewey to the tune of $200,000. However, none of the 106 students in the Ives School in the first session beginning in 1945 were sent by the unions. A large portion of the students came directly from high school and were in the 16-year-old bracket. The school provides a four-year course with academic credits. So far it has done nothing in extension work although it has some plans in this direction to give it the necessary connection with the trade unions in the state. Contrary to advice given by the New York State Federation (A.F.L.), the school has so far put its eggs in the basket of a four-year course and now faces the problem of finding employment for its students in the summer vacation because each student is supposed to undergo a period of actual work either for some business corporation, a government agency or a trade union. It is too early to judge how the school will function. Assemblyman Ives is retiring from politics—at least temporarily—in order to head up the school, and he has the trust of all sections of the labor movement.

However, the foolishness of thinking that a four-year college course can give a diploma in labor leadership is self-evident. Preliminary extension work in the industrial centers of the state would have discovered active union members who could have been spared for a short period. The successful courses also would have shown the particular needs of the active trade unions. At present the school is overshadowed by the Cornell academic curriculum and is in danger of becoming another business school to train people for personnel work in large corporations rather than accomplishing its professed aim.

In praiseworthy contrast, the University of Michigan has set up a

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special Workers Education Division which operates field work throughout the whole state. An administrative staff—made up in large part of men and women with union experience—has been secured in order to cultivate the interest of the unions. Lectures dealing with current topics are made available to the unions who receive timely talks in their union meetings. Institutes and summer schools are run to meet the special needs of the unions in any given area. The active interest and cooperation of both A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions has been secured in promoting classes and institutes. Later on, if a demand arises for fulltime residential study, such study plans will be based upon the results of the non-residential evening classes and lectures which have taken education right into the local union meetings. Mohamet has wisely gone to the mountain.

Both in the scheme proposed for the United States Department of Labor and in the various proposals operating and in formation by the universities, there is a vital need to secure the participation of Labor.

The main continuing problems of workers' education are, first of all, to recruit students and participants. Workers' education appeals largely to the intelligent, social-conscious minority in trade unions. There is no immediate incentive by way of a more highly paid job. Workers, fatigued by a day in the workshop, are more likely to seek entertainment than information. Even with all the modern educational aids of movies, filmstrips, posters and leaflets, it is difficult to secure a large response from men and women carrying a heavy load of work and home responsibilities. Then too, workers' education like adult education gives only miserable rewards to its teachers and instructors. Unless the teacher finds an idealistic satisfaction, he is not likely to receive enough financial recompense to make him a specialist in this field.

Despite these difficulties, the trade union classes, the institutes and the summer schools for workers have grown in importance. The Workers' Education Bureau and the American Labor Education Service have been operating successfully in their various fields despite shoestring resources. They have done outstanding work in combatting racism; they have assisted the newer unions to develop a local leadership.

General adult education has discovered the importance of workers' education in many areas. The proposed extension activities of the Roosevelt College in Chicago; the plans being made by the Georgia Workers Education Service; the current activity of the Kentucky State Federation which has undertaken some successful classes in the training of shop stewards—these are three of the latest active groups entering the field. The old-time unionists declared: "They who would be free themselves must strike the blow." The newer unionists recognize that knowledge helps not only to strike blows against industrial tyranny but to build a better constructive pattern of labor-management relations.

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Few of Puerto Rico's problems are understood

Puerto Rican Puzzle

By Lewis A. Dexter

Lecturer in Sociology, Bryn Mawr College

TO the typical Puerto Rican, life presents a series of situations to be exploited, tragically, if possible, but always dramatically. Continental North Americans coming to the island often fail to understand this fact and its meanings. Hence, they are bewildered by the eloquent emphasis of head and shoulders, neck and torso, with which Puerto Ricans stress every pont. So, too, they do not know quite what to make of the continual complaints about Yankee oppression and tyranny. For example, the following conversation with one of my students:

Student: "I would die to make Puerto Rico free."

Dexter: "Why?"

Student: "Just for the same reason that you admire those Frenchmen who fought Hitler."

Dexter: "Is the Uniter States, however, as bad as the Nazis?"

Student: "Yes, freedom is freedom, everywhere, and tyranny is tyranny."

Dexter: "Well, you know the Philippines are under Japanese rule? Are they better or worse off than they were under the Americans?"

Student: "It makes no difference. They are colonials to both. And look at the Ponce massacres. (A group of young Puerto Rican nationalists were shot ten years ago by police). That's just like Lidice."

Dexter: "Suppose Congress should say to General Franco—'You know we stole Puerto Rico from Spain, take her back—?' "

Student: "Well,—well,—the United States wouldn't do that. It wouldn't be fair."

On the other hand, at the Congress held last spring by supporters of statehood for Puerto Rico, I heard more lyrical glorification of the stars and stripes than I ever have on the mainland. In the early days of American rule, indeed, enthusiasm for statehood was very great. It has declined primarily as the chances of obtaining it have seemed to diminish. To illustrate the mixed feelings with which even seemingly ardent independentists regard statehood, another conversation:

Puerto Rican Woman Independentist: "Now that Roosevelt is dead, we in this island have nothing left. You on the continent, know nothing of what he meant to us. He was our friend. He is gone. You make us, then, become acquainted with a new man, who has never been in Puerto Rico—someone called Truman? You are sorry, yes, that Roosevelt is dead. But to us it is a tragedy. Why do you make us suffer so? We must be free so that never again shall we suffer such a torture as his death brought to us."

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American: "But, Carmen, what I was trying to get you to tell me was: suppose Congress should say, 'Puerto Rico, you may become a state,' what then?"

Puerto Rican: "That is a nonsense question, Jack. Statehood, statehood, statehood. Always we hear of statehood, ever since you came, but we get the Bill Jones (the measure sponsored by the Wilson administration under which Puerto Rico is governed) and now we hear you talk of revisions of the Bill Jones. We are tired, tired, tired, of the very word statehood. You Americans do not respect us—we are colored colonials to you." (The speaker herself like about two-thirds of the Puerto Rican people is 100 per cent white).

American: "But Carmen, suppose Congress should say—?"

Puerto Rican: "No, you, Jack, you appreciate our tragedy, this little island, so far away and forgotten, but your Congressmen do not know us. We will not wait. It is undignified to be a mere nothing, a colony—."

American: "If Congress should say, 'become the forty-ninth state, Puerto Rico?' "

Puerto Rican: "I do not know. We have worked and fought for freedom. Shall we make for ourselves a place of dignity among the nations? You continentals do not realize—."

American: "No more speeches, Carmen. Just tell me, how would you vote if the issue were independence or statehood?"

Puerto Rican: "I beg of you do not ask me those nonsense questions. Let us today discuss the political realities."

As the background for understanding the present situation, a statement written twenty-five years ago in the most penetrating analysis yet published of Puerto Rico may be quoted:

Perhaps the sharpest difference between Puerto Rican development and that of the rest of Latin-America lies in the fact that there has never been a serious movement for Puerto Rican independence. Such expression of a feeling for independence as we have had came under the American regime. In 1904, for the first time in our history, an enthusiast slipped an independence clause into the platform of a ruling party, and its leaders felt compelled regretfully to leave it there. From that time, until 1922, when the clause went overboard, that party's most earnest efforts were devoted to placing independence in as innocuous a position as possible. A dream for the far future, the natural desire of all peoples. the last refuge of our dignity were some of the formulas used.

In the thirties, a nationalist, terrorist movement was organized, under the leadership of Pedro Albizu-Campos, later sentenced to Atlanta, now on parole, which he refuses to recognize, in New York where he is being lionized by some pacifist groups. His followers prepared a list of Yankee officials and Puerto Rican supporters of the *status quo* who were to be shot. Possibly, because their hearts were not in it, they actually assassinated only one man of any importance.

Subsequently, advocates of a violent solution lost their following; but the organization of a social-democratic party, which won the elections of 1944, by Muñoz Marin the journalist who wrote the state-

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ment just quoted, has directly stimulated independentist sentiment. Although Muñoz himself declared, during the campaign, that political status was not an issue, many of those who supported his slogan of "Bread, Land, and Liberty," thought liberty meant release from what they regard as Yankee oppression. An overwhelming majority, for instance, of articulate university students are strongly independentist.

Yet, there is an absence of hostility towards Americans or the United States. Perhaps this is due to the fact that there has been little objective oppression. There was the one "Ponce Massacre," referred to by my student; but police, revengeful or jittery, have shot men in many American cities, North and South. The most serious difficulties arise from Yankee attitudes towards color and language.

It is generally believed that washrooms at army camps for civilian personnel are labelled, "For continentals only." This is attributed to continental race prejudice. The army has given many Puerto Rican soldiers the impression that they are second-class citizens, and has probably made more independentists in five years than any one else could have in twenty. Nevertheless, one of my students told me that it was very lucky that the Germans never landed because "that would have killed the independence movement in Puerto Rico for fifty years."

The fact that textbooks, comics, popular songs and mystery magazines are all in English has led to a rapid absorption by Puerto Rican Spanish of English terms. A fluent Spanish sentence will end with the words, "get it in the neck," and I have heard such Spanish nouns as "El square-meal" and "El assembly-hall."

Nevertheless, the pedantic insistance on correct use of English by teachers, and the feeling Puerto Ricans have that Americans are laughing at their pronunciation, make them very sensitive on the point. Boorish Federal officials, like those in the San Juan office of the Veterans Administration, appointed before the reorganization of that agency, who forebade any communication between employees in their Spanish mother-tongue, increase this sensitiveness.

However, Puerto Ricans are free. They have liberty of the press and platform, rare in the Caribbean and in Hispanic-America. All insular offices, except the Governorship, have been held by Puerto Ricans; and Congressional interference with insular affairs has taken the form of calling Tugwell and Muñoz the same names with which Roosevelt and Wallace have been damned.

SUGAR

A key to the problem, however, is sugar. Examination of proposals for independence will make this clear. Last year, Senator Tydings, Chairman of the Senate Insular Affairs Committee, introduced for the third time a bill for Puerto Rican Independence. Section seven of this measure provides for Puerto Rico's gradual exclusion from the American tariff wall.

Yet, most economists who have studied the issue agree that "it is

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literally impossible to plan any income for a million and a half (out of two million) people in Puerto Rico if the American market for sugar should disappear." At least two-thirds of all Puerto Rico's income in a non-war year comes from sugar sold to the United States. This means that the dried beans, rice, and codfish on which the Puerto Rican peasant lives, are purchased in exchange for sugar. But, if Puerto Rico did not enjoy an advantage in the American market over Cuba and the East Indies, it could not sell its products. It costs about twice as much, for instance, to produce a ton of sugar in Puerto Rico as in Cuba. The superior productivity and flavor of Brazilian and Haitian coffee has already deprived Puerto Rico of a market for its coffee, while the Southern United States can market preferred tobacco, more cheaply.

Many believe that, faced with this situation, the Puerto Ricans should grow their own food. At present, the peasants lack both the tools and the techniques necessary to make themselves self-supporting. The newly-formed Agricultural Development Company may help teach them. But it is doubtful if it can overcome the ingrained feeling that it is beneath one's dignity to raise the food that one eats oneself.

Independence, under the Tydings plan, might mean, simply, death to a good many thousands of Puerto Ricans. However, the feeling for independence was so strong that, at first when the present bill was introduced a number of the newly elected legislators cabled to the Senate, approving the bill in principle. Then, as a result of a series of courageous articles by Dean Colorado of the College of Social Sciences at the University of Puerto Rico, a reaction set in. Under the leadership of Muñoz, a group of legislators went to Washington to protest against the bill.

They drafted an alternative proposal, introduced but not supported by Senator Tydings, which declares that "it is the policy of the Congress to comply with the desires of Puerto Rico by submitting to their free choice three alternative forms of political status," independence, statehood and dominion status. Were independence to be chosen, Sections 213 and 214 provide that Federal aids, hitherto extended to Puerto Rico, might continue until their reduction is recommended by a committee of economic experts on the basis of "indexes of economic progress."

In October, President Truman urged Congress to take definite action on one of the four possible alternatives under which the island is now ruled—dominion status, statehood, independence or revision of the Jones Bill. This last would not be acceptable to the Puerto Ricans because it would leave them still colonials; independence, on Tydings' term would probably mean starvation. However, the following day, Senator Tydings himself announced, on behalf of several members of the Insular Affairs Committee, that only the last two alternatives would be considered. Consequently, it is likely that nothing will be done.

Indeed, the very Muñoz who

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pointed out in 1924 that a leader with poetry in his heart could make the sentiment for independence crystallize in the souls of many, has perhaps, like many another statesman before him, sacrificed poetry to calculation; his unreadiness to take a positive stand for independence has become so pronounced that he has expelled from the party recently some legislators who opposed the plebiscite and wished the party to declare itself on the issue.

GOVERNOR TUGWELL

During the present session of the legislature, an act was passed providing that a referendum should be held "in case a vacancy should occur in the government of Puerto Rico before the permanent political status of Puerto Rico has been decided" to decide "which citizen do the people wish democratically to recommend to the President of the United States for appointment as Governor of Puerto Rico?" Governor Tugwell vetoed the measure, because it would, in his judgement, contravene the powers of the President and Senate, as stated in the organic act, by which Puerto Rico is now governed; but the passage of the law shows again the intensity with which people feel the issue of colonial status.

Of course, political reforms by themselves could give neither bread nor land nor personal liberty. The Governor and the Popular leaders have realized this. Hence, an ambitious program of planning and development has been initiated. To the present writer, it seems, with the possible exception of the agricultural development work, to be foredoomed to failure. Despite the breadth of his sympathies and the fineness of his character, the Governer is essentially an individualistic nineteenth century economist, whose major concern is with efficiency in the sense in which that conception was understood in upper New York State, and at his alma mater, Wharton School, some thirty years ago.

But, in a number of conversations with him, and in fairly constant contact with some of his close advisors, it always appeared to me that he takes entirely for granted the moral assumptions of the nineteenth century business man and assumes without question that these must be adopted by the Hispanic people of Puerto Rico.

For example, he has always been reluctant to focus attention on population as a major concern of Puerto Rican planning and economy, and is unwilling to recognize that the growth of population in Puerto Rico is a consequence of a number of other social facts, of the sort discussed by Kingsley Davis in recent articles in FORUM. On the grounds of economy, he vetoed a bill providing for medical scholarships for Puerto Ricans on the mainland, in a land whose greatest deficiency is doctors, and where one great cause of "inefficiency" is disease, and he refused to veto a bill reintroducing, in effect, the spoils system into the appointment of social workers by the insular government, because he objects to "monopolistic" control of social work positions by the insular association of social

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workers, under civil service standards.

The Popular leaders have accepted the Governor's program, because, in part their own outlook is still (they might protest this statement violently) inherently colonial—that is, they suffer from the world-wide disease which leads people to try to imitate Washington, London, New York, Amsterdam, Paris and Moscow, instead of cultivating their own best gifts and possibilities.

The Governor, incongruously enough, if my interpretation of his program is correct, has been appointed to organize the University of Chicago's Institute of Planning, and will shortly leave Puerto Rico. The planning is likely to die soon thereafter, even if the various authorities survive the legal challenges to which they are at present exposed. Back in 1924, Muñoz again analyzed the situation shrewdly: "We are always contemplating what we never carry out. Some paved approach to hell ought to be named for Puerto Rico. Visions that burst forth magnificently and take impetus as plans, cool off as calculations, and generally peter out as accomplishments."

Were a Governor to be appointed who would insist on a serious study of population and emigration, he could accomplish a great deal. Religious opposition to birth control measures is negligible. Rather typical is the following conversation between two Puerto Rican ladies, the first of whom believes the Department of Health should spend more money on birth control information:

B: "But, my dear, you know that, as good Catholics, we cannot encourage birth control. The Church does not approve of it."

A: "But, dear Mercedes, you have two children, and your sister has two children, and your sister-in-law has two children—and—do you mean to tell me none of you practice birth control?"

B: "Of course not, Isabela. We are good Catholics. We have been sterilized."

The law permits sterilization by state-paid doctors, in cases of ill-health; unfortunately, the present Commissioner of Health has not been interested in the program, so the number of women, eligible and desirous of sterilization, far exceeds the facilities available for sterilizing them.

There is considerable concern among intellectual Puerto Ricans about organized emigration. Actually, most emigrants go to New York and Tampa; people talk about Brazil and Venezuela. Two other possibilities at least might profitably be investigated; France and Southern Alaska.

Eagerness among the *Populares* for a solution is great, so that one hopes that the new Governor will be a man of first-rate capacities—someone with all the sincerity and earnestness of Tugwell, but with an acuter appreciation of the true genius of the Puerto Rican people and of the reality of cultural differnces. Such men exist; one of them could develop the planning program into something really worthwhile. The recent selection of Judge Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands is a good omen.

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Operation Ivory Tower

By Manford H. Kuhn

Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology, Mount Holyoke College

A PROFESSOR in a western college confessed this: After finishing his graduate work, he planned a coastwise boat junket for relaxation. Boarding the steamer, he found himself paired with a Negro in a cabin. He had had the usual courses in the social studies as an undergraduate. He had accepted intellectually the anthropological principle of other ethnic groups. He had considered himself "unprejudiced." Confronted with the prospect of rooming with a Negro, he reacted emotionally, in a negative direction from that of his mental ideas. He "bristled."

This is not an unusual instance of the chance discovery by one who is a product of "liberal education" that his intellectual beliefs, inculcated by that education, were held, like so much small change in the pocket, apart from where he lived and moved and *felt*. This is true for ideas about income distribution, national sovereignty, the right of workers to organize, price ceilings, equality of women, democracy within small groups and parent-child relations. Liberal education as it is patterned in our colleges today divorces the intellectual and the moral from the motivational and the practical. What we think does not get over into the way we feel and act.

Almost everyone must be aware that a battle rages currently within the colleges and universities of this country over the meaning and direction of liberal education. So much has been written and said that, for many, words in this realm have passed the point of diminishing returns. This is unfortunate, for it is important that we hold on until we have achieved a universe of discourse in this realm. Short of this, disagreements will end in cynicism—and cynicism, within the ranks of higher education, inevitably means cynicism towards the whole of the democratic process; towards the whole fabric of our existence. Some of that cynicism has already set in. If you listen, you will hear now and again, "We Americans have always had a *naive* faith in education to solve our problems," or "There's too much *earnestness* among us educators about the role and function of education in American society."

Education, as in the days of the Founding Fathers, is still the cornerstone of democracy. If democracy has expanded from a philosophy of political organization to a pattern for living (in a society which has gone through the metamorphosis from the local, intimate, agrarian to the impersonal, volatile, mass-psychological), it still remains true that

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education is central to democracy's continued existence—for how else can the individual be sovereign, how else can he be rational, how else can he help construct and shape his social institutions so that they will be instrumental to the achieving of the common good? It is precisely the task of *liberal* education to *free* man from the shackles of a blind set of self-defeating customs, from the shortsightedness of his own immediate self-centered interest, from the dark glasses which becloud his vision of the consequences of his own behavior—that he may be a *responsible* sovereign, that he match his potential intellectual rationality with appropriate motivation and action.

The basic difficulty with present-day college education is at this very point of relating intellect to motives. There are far too many teachers on college faculties who want to return as quickly as possible to the practice of "education as usual" from whatever wartime innovations were imposed, or from the—to them—emotionally upsetting experiences of the wave of curriculum revision which is now current. There is nevertheless among other faculty members a wholesome growth of awareness of the necessity to tie together emotional and intellectual learning. It is almost pitiful, for example, to see the inordinate enthusiasm on the part of college teachers when just *one* of a group of a group of 20 or 30 major students begins to catch a spark of fire, when he begins to understand rather than merely to know.

There are, of course, many other criticisms to be made of contemporary higher education than that it is remote and dessicatedly intellectual. There is a considerable amount of agreement among all schools of educational philosophy that the college course consists of little, tightly compartmented atoms of knowledge. This criticism is demonstrated by pointing to the divisions, departments and the ever-growing number of semester courses of the curriculum structure, and, further, by calling attention to the familiar formula which makes 120 mostly equatable semester hours at the four-year academic cafeteria equal to a college education. There is, further, some but not as much agreement that within this segmented layout facts are presented with considerable, uncritical absolutism and, what is worse, that a sizeable proportion of these facts are irrelevant to the present world in which man lives.

CONCEPT OF THE ELITE

Implicit rather than explicit in much of so-called liberal education is the assumption that we are training a leisure-class élite. This is a more serious charge than that education is segmented, absolutistic and irrelevant, for this strikes at the very heart of the democratic ideal. As it is written into the very structure of college courses, it comes in part from our heritage of the pattern of the English gentleman's education of the eighteenth century, in part from the medieval interpretation (and perversion!) of classical Greek education, and, as President Taylor of Sarah Lawrence has recently pointed out, from the genteel traditions of our own Puritan beginnings. As it

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creeps into our thinking and teaching, it also stems from the now highly disputed nineteenth century doctrines of biological determinism as these were applied by twentieth century psychologists and mental testers to the question of the inheritance of intelligence. It is probable that the implicit belief in "higher education for an élite" is also buttressed by notions which have rolled in more or less unnoticed, on the one hand, from the anti-democratic implications of such political and social philosophies as are represented by that of Pareto, on the other, from rationalizations supporting the present hardening of class lines in our own contemporary America. Whatever the roots, this mostly unspoken doctrine is given some basis in reality through the operation of high costs of a college education. This selective process of high educational costs serves to augment even further the growing stratification of our society. It usually limits the use of this potential ladder of social mobility to those of the upper-middle and upper classes. The implications of this for a democratic society are sinister both from the standpoint of the ideal and that of practice.

By its very nature, coming as it does before young people have had job experiences, before they have married, before they have assumed any mature responsibilities in the community, higher education seems to assume that knowledge should precede experience. It is only a step from this to the notion, almost universally held among members of college faculties, that college students are immature and therefore irresponsible. Naturally! To use the language of the social psychologist, people tend to play the roles assigned to them. College students are immature and irresponsible, both because college comes as a kind of ante-room to life (in a drastically and artificially prolonged adolescence) and because college students are *expected* to act irresponsibly and immaturely.

ERSATZ INCENTIVES

To take care of this sorry state of affairs we have come to rely more and more on the well-known and elaborate system of *ersatz* incentives—grades, honors, degrees and the like—in order "to make Sammy run." Even when we faculty members grudgingly acknowledge the artificiality of our academic incentives, we fail usually to grasp the fact in its full significance; for we ourselves—planning as most of us did as undergraduates to be college professors—never saw in marks and honors anything more than epiphenomena of the goals we were pursuing. Now *as* college professors we are perpetually trying to bring up our students after our own images! —just as our own professors successfully did with us.

Now we have gone the full circle and we are back at the question of motivation from whence we started. We end realizing that examinations —even four-year major examinations—and honors—even Phi Beta Kappa and *summa cum laude*—do not lead unwilling and unmoved students to traverse that as yet uncharted no-man's land from so-called

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knowledge to genuine understanding. We leave with a somewhat frightened feeling that the incentives that we use really stand in the way of the student's seeing the true goals of enlightened responsibility and of participation in the democratic community.

But the merry-go-round of criticism from which we have just alighted also gives us the somewhat jaded feeling of having been around many times before. Even the conclusion is not new—that most of the criticisms leveled at liberal education would melt away if we solved the problem of motivation. Why do most discussions of educational philosophy end here? Why don't we go ahead to solve realistically the problem of motivation?

MOTIVATION

The plain truth is that we don't know very much about the whole question of motivation. For one thing, the science of man is very young. It is not only young but divided within itself among psychology, biology, anthropology, endocrinology, sociology, economics, psychoanalysis—you can go on with the list. (The very nature of this list reflects and underlines the problem of segmentation in liberal education). Then the whole is beclouded by metaphysical vestiges from the quarrels between determinists and believers in free-will, between supernaturalists and naturalists, between environmentalists and hereditarians. This cloud may be made up of vestiges but it still represents the major part of the intellectual climate in which we live. I suspect also that we "academicians" are thus far too defensive about this matter to make a wholehearted and genuine attempt to solve it. We are unconsciously afraid we would put ourselves ultimately in exactly the position of the present-day criminal judge. Confronted by the findings of criminology, he is urged to discard old notions of individual responsibility (with their corollary system of punishments), and to work out a system based on the understanding of an individual responding to and adapting to an environment. Then, too, we are also unconsciously afraid to face the unveiled nature of our own motivations, both as punishment and reward-givers, and as defensive creatures in search of security, one kind or another.

A concerted attack, however, by all branches of social science would most certainly shed a great deal of light on this problem (and educational philosophy is only one of the many areas that would be tremendously benefitted by such light. For example, consider child rearing, labor-management relations or international organization; the "demon" theory of human motivation still operates in most spheres!). The beginning of such a concerted attack is not likely to be long postponed, but the early results are apt to be tentative and highly disputed.

In the meantime, there are choices to be made in shaping the nature of the post-war structure of a liberal education. There are three basic alternatives open to us: in the first place we could retreat defensively to Absolutes. We could, deliberately confusing discipline with self-dis-

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cipline, indoctrinate these absolutes in the "young and immature" minds. Failing in our attempts to make the connection between the ideal and the practical, we could make the ideal more remote and more absolute. Celebration of the absolutes through ceremonies, symbolism and ritual would help in this. If we elect this alternative, we will be taking our cut from the neo-orthodox Protestant theologians, who, failing in their courage to carry principles into action, have withdrawn into medieval dualisms. (Man used to be accused frequently of making gods in his own image. He is now engaged in making absolutes in the mere shadow of which he hopes to find security!)

As a second alternative, we could advance regressively into previously prepared positions in what are reputedly the ivory ramparts. In short we can take up where we left off before the war, with perhaps a fanfare over shuffling our requirements around a little. In so doing, we can, as a professor at an eastern college is rumored to have put it recently, "require some of the courses that have been unpopular lately." We can take our defense against the things which trouble us, in a silence which is grim, determined and tight-lipped to students who might question and to colleagues who might differ, hoping secretly that curriculum revision won't come up again for 15 or 20 years.

Eschewing either of these, we could try to preserve what is valuable in the present structure of liberl education—and there is much —while shaping the whole as far as possible in the direction of making it relevant to contemporary living. It is only through relating college study to life that we can make the values of a liberal education *operative in life*. It is only through relating college to life that students can be motivated. As a phrase from *The Friendly Persuasion* puts it, "If you love a thing enough, knowledge of it seeps into you, with particulars more real than any chart can furnish . . . " and college youths love life—they are "angering for life." This much we do know about motivation. We ought to use it.

We also know both from the experience of the summer work camps and from that of the college work-and-study plans that have been tried that the tying together of a real work situation with study and discussion does more to release, to "liberate", the dynamic, motivational resources of the individual than anything else that has been tried.

WORK-STUDY PLAN

The combination of a work program with a regular course of study has never been fully explored in this regard. Most work-and-study plans have failed to tie in the work experience with the college course to an adequate degree. This could be accomplished more integrally than has ever been done by sending little cells of one or two professors and 15 or 20 students off the campus in a typical work-camp arrangement in which all (including the professors) would be expected to find some regular employment in a community—either as a group or individually, and in which all would co-

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operate in building an on-going seminar to accompany this work experience, a seminar which would definitely relate the work period with the aims of a liberal education.

Has it ever struck you as stupidly wasteful that most of our colleges lie idle during almost four months of the summer? This coming summer, of course, the majority of them are going to offer summer courses, because hordes of veterans are clamoring for an education and the federal government has given them the money with which to pay for it. But, after this veterans' rush subsides, are we in our society really able to afford the waste of national, human and material resources represented by the closing of colleges for a third of the year, simply because thousands of youths will not be able to pay? Would it not be a simple device simply to shift the college program to a four-quarters-a-year rather than a two-semester basis? If this were combined with a requirement that each student spend two quarters in residence and one quarter in a work-study project off the campus as a year's program, this would enable the *existing* plant to accommodate *twice* the usual number of students each year, obviously reducing very greatly the inordinate overhead costs of the college plant to each student. In turn, if this plan were ultimately widely adopted, it would make a liberal education available to far greater numbers of the middle and lower income classes in our society while, at the other end, college entrance committees could become more discriminating in their acceptance of students whose families are well-to-do. The consequences for democracy in its broadest sense both within colleges themselves and with respect to their function in our society at large would be great indeed. But, most important of all, if student motivation failed to go to much higher levels (under the impact of this guided work-experience) than the indifferent one at which it now generally stands, I should be very much surprised.

All sorts of possible disadvantages from such a relatively minor shift in the structure of college education undoubtedly occur to you. Many have to me. But I think we ought to ask ourselves again, what are the alternatives? The Hundred "Greatest" Books? Prussianized discipline with speeded-up fact-cramming? A return to the *status quo ante?*

Edna St. Vincent Millay was writing of love when she wrote:

> Pity me that the heart is slow to learn
> What the swift mind beholds at every turn.

But construed in their broadest sense—in terms of understanding and the dynamics of total response as contrasted with mere reasoning and knowledge—these lines express the central problem of our time. As such they also express the central problem of liberal education.

• This shortage is over! "Now if a guy wants to get his girl he'll . . . have to make the most of his face. Forty new cosmetics for men have appeared on the market in the past few months and more are coming."
—Perc Westmore

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The conflicts of Potsdam must be resolved

Agricultural Dilemma in Germany

By Alexander Boeker

Research Editor, *Human Events*

THE Potsdam Agreement provides that the German economy shall undergo a drastic structural change. Agriculture is to become the principal industry, with manufacturing and commerce reduced to a minimum. These steps are supposedly being taken to render Germany incapable of waging war. At the same time, the Allied leaders stated that they did not wish to destroy or enslave the German people and that they wished them to enjoy a standard of living roughly equal to the European average.

It would be interesting to know how many of those present at Potsdam realized the contradictory character of these propositions. The impossibility of reducing densely populated Germany to a primarily agricultural state and, at the same time, creating tolerable living conditions for her 60 to 70 million people is becoming more apparent daily. One American expert after another returning from Europe testifies to this fact.

At the present moment, only eight months after Potsdam, we learn what many predicted long ago: unprecidented chaos and suffering reign throughout Central Europe. Rations in most of Germany have been cut to 1,000 and 1,250 calories a day, or half of what medical authorities claim to be the necessary minimum to maintain life and health. Alarmed by a disastrously high mortality rate, military government authorities are reported to have ordered that in public records, deaths shall no longer be ascribed to malnutrition. In the American occupied city of Karlsruhe, infant mortality is above 50 per cent; in Berlin it is higher still, and, in most of the Russian zone, it is still higher. There have been food riots in Hamburg which have to be quelled by armed force, and the first cases of cannibalism have been reported from Berlin.

This catastrophe is partly due to the inevitable breakdown of the economy caused by total war. But this explanation does not suffice. The division of Germany into four occupation zones, with little or no commerce between them, has added greatly to the problem.

No other single factor, however, was as fatal as the decision to detach from Germany all her Eastern provinces totalling 25 per cent of the national territory as compensation to Poland. These provinces were Germany's only agricultural surplus areas. The 10 million inhabitants of these territories (East Prussia, Danzig, Pomerania, Silesia, and Eastern Brandenburg), were expelled from

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their homes at the shortest notice and dumped into the over-crowded, bomb-riddled, rump of Germany. Agricultural experts have estimated that, through this action alone, 8.1 million tons of grain and potatoes (grain equivalent) of last year's harvest were lost. They simply rotted in the fields. The loss is not only Germany's and Poland's, but the world's. Without this waste the present world food shortage would be much less serious.

In 1933, before the Nazi annexations, Germany had a total area of 47 million hectares, of which 28.7 million hectares, or 61.2 per cent constituted farm lands and pastures. Under the terms of the Potsdam agreement, Germany lost to Poland 12 million hectares of territory, of which 7.5 million hectares, or 62 per cent are farm lands.

In the years before the war, Germany was never able to produce more than 80 to 85 per cent of her food and fodder. The remainder had to be imported, from the Balkans, Argentina, Canada and the United States.

This food deficit will henceforth be very much greater principally because the 10 million Germans expelled from the East will not only cease to raise their own food but will become a liability to Germany. In addition, approximately 3 million Sudeten-Germans are also now being expelled from Czechoslovakia.

A total of at least 13 million additional mouths will thus have to be fed with the produce of an agricultural area shrunk by some 26 per cent. Since the lost provinces were agricultural surplus areas, which nomally produced food for some 8 million Germans in addition to their own 10 million inhabitants, the food deficit will be much greater still.

Whereas pre-war Germany could feed 80 out of every 100 Germans, out of its own resources, post-war Germany will have to import food for 34.5 million out of 68 million inhabitants, or for 51 out of every 100 Germans. This situation is temporarily aggravated by the lack of male farm labor, depletion of the soil, acute shortages of machinery, fuels and draft animals, by the looting of herds, the devastation and dislocation caused by warfare and by the overhasty so-called "agrarian reforms" in the area under Russian control.

On the assumption that the Potsdam agreement remains in force, we must reckon with a permanent German food deficit of considerably over 51 per cent, possibly as much as 60 to 65 per cent, depending on the degree of de-industrialization. The temporary food deficit presently prevailing is higher still.

FOOD PRODUCTION

These facts forcibly suggest that emphasis on food production is a vital problem for Germany and that we must examine realistically the practical possibilities and limitations of such a policy.

There are three ways in which agricultural production can be expanded: through the availability of additional soil, through more intensive exploitation of existing farm lands, or through new inventions in the field of fertilizers and machinery.

Additional soil is available in Germany only in very little quantities. Government sponsored efforts at

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self-sufficiency long ago led to the utilization of every scrap of land that promised to bear crops at even a meagre profit. In fact, German agriculture, ever since the famine scare of World War I, has suffered from over-exploitation of marginal lands i.e., soils which were really not suitable for cultivation at prevailing food prices As a result, many farmers hovered at the brink of bankruptcy.

In the present emergency, lands hitherto considered unsuitable for cultivation will be taken under the plough. In Bavaria, for instance, the Allied-appointed government has just ordered that the crop areas of previous years be expanded by 10 per cent. This means deforestation, cultivation of moors, wastelands, public parks and airports. The result remains to be seen, but even optimists do not anticipate that a 10 per cent addition to the crop area will yield a harvest 10 per cent larger than normal. Marginal soil remains marginal soil even in the face of an edict by a military government.

We might go far beyond the measure of the Allied authorities in Bavaria and assume that half of what was hitherto classified as forests, moors and wastelands might be used for the production of foodstuffs, leaving aside the effect of a greatly reduced forestry on the climate, the building industry, and the trade balance of Germany. In 1935 a total of 14.8 hectares, or 31.5 percent of Germany's total area, was classified in one of these three categories, *viz.* 12.9 million hectares as forests, 447,000 hectares as moors, and 1.5 million hectares as wastelands. Territorial losses in the East, as provided at Potdam, will reduce this total by 3.6 million hectares.

It was our assumption—which probably errs considerably on the side of optimism—that of the remaining 11.2 million hectares of non-farming lands one-half, or 5.6 million hectares, might be taken under the plough or used as pasture. How much food might these hypothetical new crop lands yield? An identical acreage of average farm lands in Eastern Germany used to produce enough food for 13.5 million people. The soils with which we are dealing, however, are of very poor quality. At best they might yield 75 per cent of average soils. This would mean food for about 10.1 million people and would reduce post-war Germany's food deficit to a point where only 40 out of every 100 Germans would have to be fed out of imported food supplies.

It must be borne in mind, however, that this is an unduly optimistic estimate. It does not even take into account the years and decades which a program of deforestation and cultivation would require. No allowance, moreover, has been made for the fact that cultivation of poor soils raises production costs and food prices. These higher food prices make an adequate diet inaccessible to the masses unless the over-all standard of living is raised. Yet the Potsdam Agreement specifically aims at a deliberate lowering of the standard of living of the German people. This is one of its many insoluble contradictions.

Equally insoluble, under the Potsdam provisions, is the problem of raising the productivity of German

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agriculture by technical improvements and new inventions. Present agreements provide for the strictest curtailment of Germany's machinery and chemical industries. The production of basic chemicals is to be limited to 40 per cent of the 1936 output, machine tools to 11.4 per cent of 1938 production. Heavy tractors and synthetic gasoline are forbidden altogether. Fuel imports will be severely limited by lack of foreign exchange.

Under conditions such as these, technical progress in the field of agriculture will be well-nigh impossible. Modern agriculture is vitally dependent upon the products of industry. Only industrial nations can farm intensively. Where industries are lacking, farming becomes, of necessity, extensive. By decreeing that Germany shall de-industrialize and yet intensify her agricultural production, the makers of Potsdam have involved themselves in another contradiction. They have said both "Yes" and "No" to the same question.

LAND REFORM

The theory has gained wide currency that Germany needs a drastic land reform and that herein may lie the key to her food problems. This proposition has a socio-political, rather than an economic background. The *Junkers*—a term which few Americans know how to define—are widely considered to be at the root of Germany's recent show of aggression and their destruction as a class, therefore, appears as a highly desirable goal.

Peasant proprietorship is indeed a healthy social objective. Few people, however, realize to what a large extent it actually prevailed in Germany for more than a century. The practical possibilities of land reform, especially after the territorial truncations in the East, are, therefore, rather limited. In fact, in many parts of Western Germany, especially in the Rhineland and in Baden, the problem is not how to distribute the land among more owners, but how to consolidate uneconomic midget-sized farms.

Whereas in the United States about 45 per cent of all farms have more than 40 acres of crop land, only 11.6 per cent of German farms have a comparable acreage. In 1933, all *Junker* estates, i.e. farms of over 100 hectares, had a combined acreage of 15.7 million hectares, as against 25.8 million hectares of peasant-owned land. Roughly half of the *Junker* lands, moreover, consisted of forests. In the lost Eastern provinces were situated 5.7 million hectares of *Junker* estates, or more than one-third of the total. Of the remainder, 3.9 million hectares are situated in the Russian occupation zone and have already been parcelled out. Of the 6.1 million hectares of estates left in the Western occupation zones a little more than one-half are forests. The remaining three million hectares available for land reform would provide only 100,000 homesteads of 30 hectares (75 acres) each. This is a disappointingly small item compared with the fantastic figures of some social dreamers.

Land reform, moreover, is not an unmixed blessing in an economy faced with the grim fact of constant

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food shortages. The helter-skelter destruction of the estates in the Russian zone, which was prompted by political rather than economic considerations, should serve as a warning. Estates were parcelled out before buildings were available to house the new farmers. The "reforms" were largely carried out just before, or during, harvest time, which caused the loss of at least a million tons of food. Most of the new parcels, are too small to permit even subsistence farming, not to speak of production for urban markets. In addition, the reforms were preceded by such thorough looting of farm property that the new settlers had to start without machinery or livestock. The result to date has been agrarian chaos and misery rather than social progress.

Apart from this particular situation in the Russian zone, there is much to be said for the preservation of large-scale farming. The average home consumption of Eastern German farms of 5 to 20 hectares used to be 14 per cent higher than that of farms of more than 100 hectares. In other words, large farms are the chief sources of food supplies for the cities, especially in bread grains. A leading agricultural expert in Berlin calculated recently that the "land reform" in the Russian zone will enable one million more people to grow their own foodstuffs while cutting off food supplies to 1.5 million city dwellers.

These objections, however, must not blind our vision. Land reform is inevitable in postwar Germany, not for dogmatic political reasons, but to provide land for at least some of the 13 million deportees from Eastern Germany and the Sudeten land. A large percentage of them have never been anything but farmers. A few can be assimilated in the cities, even if jobs could be found. Of the 10 million Germans deported from the East, no less than 3.2 million lived on farms. To these we must add at least 800,000 Sudeten-German farmers. Assuming an average of four to a farm family, this means that one million families are in urgent need of new farmsteads large enough to provide at least for their subsistence.

The resettlement of these unfortunate and uprooted people would require at least 15 million hectares of average quality farm land. According to the most optimistic estimates, no more than eight million hectares could be made available in Germany through land reform, deforestation and the drainage and cultivation of wastelands and moors. Much of this newly gained land would be of poorer than average quality. Hardly any of it is available at once. At least one half of the expelled farming population will therefore, have to be absorbed into other professions, settled in overseas territories or permitted to return to their old homes in the East.

Any plan for the absorption of the deportees in the territory of Germany, requires an expansion of German industries and exports. It is the supreme fallacy of the Potsdam plan that it proclaims *de*-industrialization as its objective, but creates conditions which make *re*-industrialization imperative. The sooner this contradiction is recognized and resolved, the better for Germany, for Europe and for peace.

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The mental defective needs better care

The Challenge of Mental Deficiency

By Ed Ritter

Principal-elect of the School of Organic Education, Fairhope, Alabama

THE accident was a clear result of bad judgment. The traffic signal was red and a tall hedge obscured autos approaching from the right. Nevertheless, the boy driving the Buick sped into the intersection. He swerved too late, smashing into the car that had already entered. After the crash the boy stood unsteadily beside the Buick, stared stupidly at his victim, and then ran behind the tall hedge.

The police readily identified the Buick as one that had been stolen during the morning. Next day the sobbing young hit-and-run driver was blurting out his story to the juvenile court. Investigation proved the case to be after a familiar pattern. The boy was of low intelligence and had committed the theft under the instruction of brighter delinquents who would have relieved him of the car later. He was committed to the state's training school for the mentally defective.

Of the estimated 6,000,000 deficient persons in the United States, 120,000 are in training schools or homes for the feeble-minded. The vast majority wallow miserably in the freedom to spawn large feeble-minded families, to suffer exploitation in a competitive economy, and —in general—to fumble along on public relief and occasional court custody.

Man has had a long time to consider the problems posed by mental deficiency—there are bones to prove that there were microcephalics and hydrocephalics among our prehistoric ancestors. Because of society's increasing complexity, though, our failure to supervise mental defectives adequately is a more hazardous oversight than that of earlier peoples. Consider, for three examples, the demonstrable relation of mental deficiency to crime, juvenile delinquency, and traffic casualties:

In the April, 1943, *American Journal of Mental Deficiency,* states were grouped according to the rate at which mental defectives were admitted to institutions; and the rate at which each group of states sent persons to state prisons was set down opposite. From the top group to the bottom, the rate of prisoners rose consistently as the provision for defectives lowered.

A study of 1,000 juvenile delinquents referred to the Harvard Juvenile Court showed 44.6 per cent of these children to be in the feeble-minded and borderline categories.

Findings of Recorders Court Traffic Clinic, reported in the May, 1942, *American Journal of Psychiatry,* indicated that about one-third of our traffic violations are committed by mental defectives. Out of

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1,000 consecutive traffic violations referred to the court, 305 violators had I.Q.'s of 43 to 72.

Before examining the peculiarities and possibilities of the mental defective and society's present mode of dealing with him, it will be interesting to note his historic roles. Out of what idealisms and necessities did our training schools begin?

In the quiet hours before bed-time on any training school ward, a weary attendant might be found in conversation with the most subnormal appearing boy on the floor—a dwarfish, malformed child with irregular features.

"How do you like your new shoes?" the attendant asks.

"They too fit, sir. Any bread in the sky?"

"Maybe, Leo, but why?"

"When I die, I get candy and bread in the sky? What make trees grow?"

"Don't you know?"

"Roots. That make my hair grow too."

"And where do the roots in your hair go, Leo?"

"Into here," the boy says, pointing to his temples. "Bottles of tonic in here. Tonic in any old body's head."

The attendant laughs, turns to a mongoloid boy and hands him a magazine. "Here," he says, "Do church for me."

The mongoloid places a shoe box on the window sill for a pulpit and turns the pages of the magazine with dignity. Addressing the ward, he rushes into a jumble of sounds out of which emerges only occasional words. He sings the doxology and motions for his congregation to rise.

The relaxation evidenced by the attendant's chuckle is a faint reminder of the medieval role of the mental defective. Seneca, among other respectable Romans, spoke of the amusement his wife derived from her *idiotesmo*. Montezuma's court kept a large collection of mentally defective persons who were treated as modern civilization treats zoo animals. Jesters were morons whose answers amused kings, and they had the run of medieval palaces. There was rejoicing in the household where one was born. The court of Philip IV of Spain was a veritable asylum for mental defectives. While their role, like that of the jugglers, was to amuse the court, they were fed and clothed richly and enjoyed the freedom of the household.

In an earlier era, Spartans had thrown their feeble-minded offspring over a cliff. North American Indians, on the other hand, regarded mental defectives as "children of the Great Spirit" and treated them with special respect.

Hope for the training of the mentally deficient came in the modern era. Its prophet was the French professor, Itard, who began an unprecedented experiment in 1798. After devoting five years to an attempt to train the "Savage of Aveyron," an idiot boy who had been living an animal existence in the woods, Itard pronounced his effort a failure. Ironically, Itard's journals recording the idiot's responses laid the foundation for the new social concept that the defective could and should be trained.

This idealism spread to America in the early nineteenth century, but the almshouse remained the principal

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asylum of the mental defective for some time. The "New England System" of auctioning paupers off to the lowest bidder (the one who would maintain the pauper at the lowest cost to the community) left a clearer understanding of the relationship between mental deficiency and the problem of poverty. The feeble-minded pauper, under the system, became recognized as the most desirable type of pauper on whom to bid. He was relatively docile and could be made to work faithfully.

By 1876 the training of the mental defective had become a nation-wide interest and the "Association of Medical Officers of American Institutions for Idiots and Feeble-Minded Persons" met for the first time in Elwyn, Pennsylvania. By 1900, 25 schools with 15,000 patients were operating on the assumption that all work with the mental defective should be remedial. Their emphasis was the welfare of the patients rather than the protection of society. It was at about the turn of the century that the high hope of elevating all mental defectives flagged. The many recommitments of "trained" discharges set the reaction in motion, and the fatalism in the slogan "Once feeble-minded always feeble-minded" became general belief. The sexual promiscuity and general havoc indulged in by training school "graduates" at last revealed the relation between mental deficiency and the serious social problems, and compulsory commitment was introduced.

Dr. Goddard's discovery of the moron and his study of the Kallikaks were largely responsible for the fresh view of the problem in the first decade of this century, and institutions for the care of the mentally deficient multiplied rapidly. By 1923 we were institutionalizing these persons at the rate of 46.7 per 100,000, and the rate gradually rose to 79.7 by 1941.

TRAINING SCHOOLS

Let us now have a closer look at our contemporary training schools. Do they train or merely maintain their inmates?

Most patients are morons whose deficiency is not immediately recognizable. In institutional parlance, they are *high-grades*. They clean the wards, plant and harvest the crops at the institution farm, milk the cows, and do the cooking and laundering. So completely do they perform institutional maintenance that it is difficult to determine whether they are caring for the institutional employees who supervise them or vice versa.

High-grades are not too obtuse to make intricate rationalizations for being in an institution for the mentally defective. They have convinced themselves that it was by the wildest quirk of fate that they ever landed—as they put it—among "all these dopes and lame-brains." To see ourselves as others see us is never easy; for those of low intelligence, objectivity is supremely difficult.

"You're fee-e-e-ble all right!" one patient will bellow at another, "you belong here."

"Honestly! This puh-lace!"

Their persistent tongue-in-cheek way of ridiculing the "fee-e-eble minded" betrays a dark uneasiness about the nature of mental deficiency. Sometimes it rises into con-

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scious curiosity, as when a tall Negro boy with a Step-'n-Fetchit voice was heard telling his fellows the difference between mental disease and mental deficiency: "Mental disease is when folks do bad things because they can't help it," he explained, "but the feeble-minded do wrong just because they're too damn lazy to do the right thing."

While not resembling those in the professional journals, the boy's definition reveals the core of the high-grade defective's problem: emotional control. Handicapped with an intelligence too low to brake the emotions effectively, the mental defective must summon much old-fashioned will power. A ten-year-old boy whose personal imp seems to impel him to start fights began to slip out of the area where boys in his ward were to sit during the "wash-up" periods. An attendant noticed him sitting alone in an obscure corner for several days during these periods, and inquired the reason. "Please lem-me sit here," he said, "it's the only way I can keep from hittin' somebody and gettin' in trouble."

DELINQUENT DEFECTIVES

An important segment of every training school's population is the delinquent defective. A ten-year survey (1931-41) conducted by the Sonoma (California) state home for mental defectives revealed that 39 per cent of its 3,670 admissions were delinquents. Stealing was the chief cause of boys' commitments, whereas sex delinquency accounted for 70 per cent of the girls' commitments. Most delinquents were admitted between the ages of 12 and 20, and had I.Q.'s of between 50 and 70.

Embittered by the hopeless gap between their grandiose dreams and their real status, these delinquents often are committed for trying such desperate short-cuts as that of Jud, the mentally defective pervert in "Oklahoma."

The prevalence of broken home backgrounds in the case records of institutionalized mentally deficient children points to a leading cause of the emotional instability causing their commitment. In institutionalizing high-grade defectives, social inadequacy—rather that I.Q. itself—is the criterion. The plus-factors (those anti-social attributes in addition to mental deficiency) generally are the manifestations of insecurity and nervousness that can be traced directly to the broken home.

On letter-writing night in a ward of high-grade adolescents, an attendant reports having written forty letters for patients; only one letter was addressed to both parents. Several letters to "Dear Mother" could never leave the office because they were written to make-believe mothers.

The "institutional family" is an interesting phenomenon that accounts for many commitments. It is not uncommon to find all the children of a large family in the same institution. A few years ago the Belchertown (Mass.) training school reported that among its patients were 15 mothers with 47 of their children. In one instance there were seven children from the same family; and, in 40 other instances, there were from three to five siblings. The Belchertown institution is not exceptional in this regard.

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Idiots, known in institutions as *low-grades,* represent a simpler social problem than do high-grades. Their obvious need is physical security, and probably they will always have to be institutionalized. There are a few progressive institutions that successfully train low-grades in controlling their bodily processes, performing minor tasks, and making simple craft products; but most institutions provide strictly custodial service.

Despite even the conscientious attendant's efforts to keep the low-grade area and clothing clean, these patients present a sight and smell that challenge the visitor's stomach. They sit most of the day in their barren day room (or day yard in summer) not changing their grotesque leaden expressions even when they are fed. Most of them are silent, others make constant gibberish, and others scream hideously.

In almost every state, institutions for the mentally deficient harbor a group of defectives handicapped by epilepsy. While these persons are generally capable of self-help in dressing, and eating, their seizures or convulsions necessitate very close supervision. Their periods of melancholia are frequent and profound.

TRAINING THE HIGH-GRADE DEFECTIVE

It is the institution's function of training the high-grade defective—of removing his plus-factor—that demands our most careful examination if we are to appraise rightly today's treatment of the defective.

Representative state training schools have become so pre-occupied with purely custodial service that their very name is a euphemism. Too often interest in the patient begins and ends with the way he polishes his ward floor or sandpapers the kitchen garbage buckets.

The prevalent low wage offered attendants ($50 to $75 a month and maintenance in typical institutions with a 57-hour work week) seldom attracts highly skilled personnel. Employees cannot always be found at this low figure, and small children some times must be left in the care of patient-attendants who enforce long periods of rigid, unhealthy silence with sturdy coat-hangers. Marks are not to be left on patients, but this stipulation often has to do with the technique—rather than with the essence—of physical coercion.

Progressive training schools encourage good conduct with merit systems by which patients earn privileges by responding with social maturity to the ones they already enjoy. But in the typical state training school there are so few privileges that purely negative punishment is relied on for achieving discipline. For example, for breaking a dish a boy must scrub five hours a day for a week—and usually he's scrubbing an already well scrubbed floor; if a full-time kitchen worker breaks a dish while waiting table in the employees' dining room, she will lose her day-off for that week.

The institution may offer the brighter children as much as an hour a day of rudimentary academic training in the fall and winter months; and for occupational therapy some may be given an hour's experience in the shop where the patients' shoes are repaired and sim-

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ple woodwork done. There may be classes for girls in weaving and sewing.

The patient is often doubtful as to whether he should put forth his best effort in his particular maintenance joy because of the suspicion that persists among his fellows that the dependable patient-workers will never be permitted to go on the "Outside." As a matter of fact, the patient's home situation is the chief condition of parole, according to an American Association on Mental Deficiency survey.

The high-grade is almost invariably preoccupied with "gettin' on the Outside agin."

"My uncle says that if I keep my nose clean I'll get to go on the Outside!" a boy will exclaim.

"Yeah," his fellows will chorus derisively, "when you leave this place it'll be in a pine box."

Six patients out of 100 are discharged from institutions annually, and—on the average—one will some day be recommitted. Temporary paroles are more common. At the end of each year, about 10 per cent of the patients on all institutional books are on parole.

When communities have organized, friendly supervision for their high-grade defectives, parole systems can be formed that will make good behavior records the consistent condition of parole. The incentive for improvement thus lit would immediately interest some of the patients in earning better institutional records.

To the casual visitor, probably the most interesting aspect of the whole institutional picture is the way in which patients come to think of their institutions as the world. They think of that other world—the Outside—in the wistful sense in which heaven is traditionally viewed. But the realities are the institutional routines. For example:

"What day is it?" one inquires.

"What day d'ya spose, ya dope? We had beans, didn't we?"

Social distinctions and prejudices form along lines of mental capabilities. It is a rasping humiliation for a high-grade boy to be made to sit between two "dopes" during "wash-up" period. So obvious are the differences separating high-grades, dopes and low-grades that conventional prejudice along religious or racial lines soon become obliterated. The day after a dance, a relatively new boy in a training school was ridiculing one of the other boys for having danced with a Negro girl.

"Ha! Listen to him," the accused laughed, "he worries about the color!" And his fellows joined him in scorning the newcomer's color discrimination. The situation suggests an interesting footnote on prejudice as the expression of subconscious craving for psychological security. Any dichotomy more obvious could supplant race-prejudice.

There are, however, less amusing implications of the institution's becoming this self-contained, highly routinized, regimented world. Many years of it would cause even a well balanced person to feel like a helpless foreigner if returned to a normal community and obliged to make his own decisions.

There are a few alert training schools that recognize the dangers in patients' becoming so thoroughly institutionalized that they can never

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live elsewhere. An official of Letchworth Village, in Thiells, New York, for instance, describes that "busy rural community" as being one with "plenty of playgrounds, elbow-room, and freedom within bounds."

COMMUNITY GUIDANCE

An important clue to the future are present-day ventures in community guidance. South Dakota is the most extensive testing ground. In that state, county boards register and supervise the mental defective. At regular intervals these boards send reports to the State Commission describing the community adjustment of persons in their charge. The boards keep lists of mentally deficient persons in the hands of all county clerks to prevent issuance of marriage licences to unsterilized defectives.

A recent letter from D. E. MacBrown, chairman of the South Dakota State Commission for Control of the Feeble-Minded, reports that "practically all of the state's (mentally defective) population between the ages of 6 and 35 years have been identified and registered."

In his report of the South Dakota State School and Home for the Feeble-Minded last year, Superintendant Willhite pointed out that community supervision had helped effect a sharp reduction in the high-grade admissions, and a rise in high-grade discharges.

"The result," Dr. Willhite concludes, "has been that the Institution finds itself in the position of receiving a greater number of low-grade defectives."

The sudden rise of the Mental Hygiene Program is a stirring on the present scene that may help bring America awake to the menace and challenge presented by our mental defectives. Only an idea two years ago, M.H.P. is now a nationally organized program with Eleanor Roosevelt and Pearl Buck among its sponsors. Its monthly *Attendant* is the first publication printed especially for institution attendants and circulated among them. M.H.P. is also in process of publishing a book and several pamphlets dramatizing institutional problems for popular consumption.

The organization was originated by a few conscientious objectors assigned to mental institution duty by Selective Service. During and since the war, 300 consciencious objector's have been working in 15 state training schools to relieve the critical attendant-shortage.

Current objectives of the American Association on Mental Deficiency offers the best summary of the specific lines along which experts in the field urge progress. The aims include selective sterilization of hereditary types both in and out of institutions, special training in our colleges for teachers of the subnormal and extra-institutional supervision in the community.

Ancient cruelty, medieval derision, nineteenth century over-optimism and recent lassitude show that the creative realistic page in the history of the mental defective's treatment is yet to be written. Its relevance to the soundness and vitality of the race makes the writing of it an urgent challenge.

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Monologue in Washington Jingo

G-Men and G-2

By Sydney J. Harris

From his column, "Strictly Personal," in the Chicago Daily News

If ordinary citizens began talking the way government officials do, it would sound something like this:

"Hello, Jim, haven't seen you around for weeks. Confidentially, how are the wife and kids? And give me a fast fill-in on developments at home, will you? Just for background, you understand.

"Naturally, I'm not going to quote you, old man, but what do you think the weather will be like tomorrow? Cloudy, huh? Well, I got it straight from one of the Big Boys—in fact, the No. 2 Boy—in the weather bureau that it'll be warm and sunny. Keep it quiet, though. They wouldn't like it to leak out before release date.

"Ran into Joe Glotz at lunch yesterday, and what do you think he spilled? Now, look, this is top secret, so park it in your G-2 file and sit on it until it breaks. Anton the Butcher is going to have lamb chops on Saturday! Positively.

"There's a heavy security on this, so mark it Restricted until the appropriate agencies have given clearance. Remember, we have to protect Anton on this. You know how butchers are on protocol.

"By the way, I hear there's going to be quite a shakedown at the golf club. T. P. is getting the ax, L. R. is slated for a kick upstairs and old J. M. is being sent to Siberia. A whole new rules committee will be set up at closed session tonight. Pretty Left-wing bunch, that, but they've got influence in the right quarters. With You-Know-Who.

"Now, whatever you do, keep this under your hat, Jim. I mean total blackout. The club can't stand investigation right now, what with the new dues schedule coming up next month—so play it dumb, and we'll scratch your back some day.

"Well, have to be running now. Got a date with the W.I.F.E., and have to walk the D.O.G. before the B.A.B.Y. wakes up. This is off the record, of course. You know how a rumor can spread around town.

"So long, Jim. If anybody sees you don't tell them you saw me, and if I see anybody I won't tell them I saw you. Can't be too careful these days. Don't quote that."

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Will pressure groups defeat the proposal a third time?

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project

By Eugene Rachlis

From the Chicago Sun Feature Page

THERE are 2,350 miles of waterway between Duluth, Minnesota, and Belle Isle, near Newfoundland, where the Atlantic Ocean and the St. Lawrence River meet.

But few ocean-going vessels can travel between those two points, for 118 miles of this distance—about five per cent of it—contains obstructions which keep all but shallow-draft ocean-going vessels out.

Those obstructions do not affect Duluth alone. Chicago, Detroit and Milwaukee also are on the Great Lakes. They, too, will see few ocean-going ships being filled with Midwestern produce unless the St. Lawrence seaway and power project, which has as one of its objectives the removal of the obstructions, is completed.

If Congress approves the project, the improvement of the channels, would be the first order of business. Then there would be uninterrupted passage for ships from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes.

To do this, dams, locks and canals must be constructed at the International Rapids, the Soulanges Rapids and Lachine Rapids, all in the 119 miles between Ogdensburg, New York, and Montreal. The connecting canals then would be dredged.

Although on the surface this appears a difficult and arduous task, United States Army engineers have studied the problem extensively, and they say it can be done. Current estimates are that it will take from four to six years.

Included in the project is a secondary feature: the development of a hydroelectric power plant at the International Rapids section. In the building of the project it is proposed that a 92-foot drop in the water at this point be used to manufacture power.

When the power is harnessed it is estimated that some 13,200,000,000 kilowatt-hours of power will be generated. This would be divided equally between New York state and the Province of Ontario, providing cheap power for both.

The power project would generate more electricity per year than any other single power plant. For that reason New York state is intensely interested in the project and is pushing to get it passed by Congress.

In fact, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for President in 1944, has come out in favor of state development of the power project if the federal government doesn't approve it soon.

Proponents of the project argue that there are many corollary advantages that would be derived. First, in this transition period from war to peace, employment would be pro-

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vided for any number of men.

Second, in the long run economic picture, the benefits from greater shipping and cheaper power would benefit the nation as a whole and not just the Midwest and upstate New York.

In addition, it is pointed out, one of the most expensive items on the American taxpayer's war budget could be utilized in peacetime and not be left to rot—the giant merchant fleet which carried war goods from the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf ports.

The United States Maritime Commission is on record in this respect. In its 1941 report to the House rivers and harbors committee, the commission said:

"When the present hostilities cease it will again be necessary to provide for the assimilation of an expanded merchant marine into the normal commerce of the country.

"Since the ships needed for naval and military auxiliaries in time of war or national emergency can only be maintained in normal times by absorption into the nation's foreign and domestic commerce, it is evident that any opportunity to provide for the expansion of the use of merchant vessels in normal trades is worthy of serious consideration."

The commission recently made an analysis of the fleets of 30 of the principal countries of the world and found that there were, on September 30, 1945, some 3,354 vessels within the 25-foot draft range and 5,191 within the 27-foot draft range. This would permit all those ships to pass through the proposed seaway. It is something most of them can't do now.

American ships are in a similar situation. On the same date, 763 of our vessels were within the 25-foot draft range and 1,173 were within the 27-foot range. Completion of the seaway would let these ships, flying the American flag, carry goods on waters now forbidden to most of them by nature.

In the area which would be served by the power plant, it is estimated that the average cost of power to farm and residential consumers would be reduced some 64 per cent and the cost to commercial and industrial consumers by 25 per cent. The New York State Power Authority has estimated that savings to all types of consumers would run about $25,000,000,000 a year.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Senator Aiken (Republican, Vermount), a mild-mannered progressive, and Representative Rankin (Democrat, Mississippi), a tempestuous reactionary, find themselves in the same political bed on only one subject—the St. Lawrence seaway and power project.

In favor of the project are such normally opposite forces as the Chambers of Commerce of Detroit, Toledo and Duluth and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Against it are aligned such diverse groups as the railroad brotherhoods and the public utility interests.

The reasons that compel an Aiken and a Rankin to fight for the same thing are simple. Rankin, who in

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recent years has won infamy as a spokesman for states' rights, white supremacy and anti-Semitism, once was the most strident voice in the House in favor of public power. Aiken, whose record on progressive legislation has been consistently on the side of the liberals, believes in public power, too.

The St. Lawrence seaway and power project has a dual goal—a waterway to the Great Lakes ports from the sea and a power dam second only to the Grand Coulee in Oregon.

So Aiken, who wants cheap power for his rural constituents in Vermont, as well as for the nation, is for it. And Rankin, who fought for the Tennessee Valley Authority, also is for it.

There has been a tendency on the part of some to separate the two goals of the St. Lawrence project. For instance, the public utilities, which have been fighting the power aspects of it, would have few objections to the St. Lawrence waterway simply as a navigation project and its resulting good for the farmers and manufacturers of the Midwest.

On the other hand, the railroads and East Coast seaboard groups would have no objection to the power project if the navigation aspect were killed. They think that the seaway would destroy their business, or at least cut into it rather heavily.

In the past 15 years the opposition forces have succeeded in killing the St. Lawrence project on the two occasions that it has come before Congress .

In 1934, President Roosevelt brought pressure on the Senate to approve the treaty between Canada and the United States which provided for the project. Although a majority voted for the treaty, they failed to get the two thirds necessary for treaty ratification.

Mr. Roosevelt recognized the poor strategy in that instance and there were moves to correct it. It wasn't until 10 years later, though, that anything was done. This time it came in the form of a proposed agreement between Canada and the United States which requires for approval only a simple majority in both houses. But the strategy backfired again.

The agreement, instead of coming up for a vote on its own, was tacked onto an omnibus Rivers and Harbors bill as the so-called Aiken amendment.

It provided some congressmen, who refused to buck opposite political forces, with the out they needed. Many voted against the amendment on the grounds that it should be studied and debated on its merits and not as part of an over-all bill. The amendment was defeated.

Now, a new strategy has been worked out. The bill for United States participation with Canada in the St. Lawrence seaway and power project is going through the congressional gauntlet as an agreement, as a bill on its own. Now, there is only the chance that some may vote against it on the grounds that it should be handled as a treaty.

The one argument in favor of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project that its opponents find difficult to bat down is that it would be of inestimable value to the national defense.

While this generally is considered

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a side advantage to the project—its main two being an open waterway from the Midwest Great Lakes ports to the sea and public power for the Northeastern states—it is one that the Army engineers emphasize.

Both the navigation and power aspects would be of tremendous value in time of war, the engineers point out.

As for power, they suggest a look at the record the Tennessee Valley Authority made for itself before the war.

As for navigation, another outlet to the sea to supplement the tonnage carried from the Eastern, Western and Gulf ports always would be welcome.

About the best argument that the opposition can give as to why the project would have no value as a defense measure is the simple fact that an atomic bomb or two could wipe it out. Since this argument holds for almost everything else, the argument is not being taken too seriously.

On all other phases of the St. Lawrence project, however, the opposition has lined up cogent arguments. Those who favor it come back with just as cogent answers. And there the matter rests until Congress, this session or next, decides to resolve it one way or the other.

For instance, opponents charge that the navigation conditions on the St. Lawrence River are so hazardous that ship owners might not risk sending their vessels on it. Proponents of the project come back with the statement that construction of the seaway would have the effect of improving the river by enlarging existing channels.

They cite a pertinent quote from a letter sent by Robert Dollar, founder of the Dollar Steamship Lines, to the Senate foreign relations committee some time ago. Dollar said:

"Ships will certainly go to the lakes for cargo; in fact ships will go anywhere and everywhere to get cargoes. We have big ocean-going steamers running 1,000 miles to the Yangtze River, where the current is very swift and navigation far more difficult than it would be going to Lake Superior from Montreal.

"When the canal is finished, there is no more reason for doubting that ships will go from the ocean to the Great Lakes than there is that ships will go to any port on the Atlantic seaboard."

Opponents of the project cite with glee the undeniable fact that for nearly five months every winter the seaway would have to be closed to shipping because of ice.

Although this is admitted freely, the proponents come right back with the equally undeniable fact that the seven months during which the seaway would be open are the most important months of the year for shipping.

During those seven months—May to December—other transport facilities are loaded. Those are the months when farmers will be shipping their crops. And with the seaway to help carry the load, the United States will have an integrated transportation system.

The St. Mary's Canal at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, also is icebound during those five winter

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months. But it moves during the other seven months more tonnage than the Panama and Suez Canals do during the whole year.

The coal people—both management and labor—are opposed to the project. They don't like the power plant and they don't like the seaway. The first because it would develop electric power in regions which now use coal, the second because they fear importation of coal from England would be a competitive factor in both the United States and Canada.

Again the figures refute these arguments. American coal is produced cheaper than British coal and cannot be undersold, statistics show. As for the power argument, it is one that coal producers have brought up during every fight on electric versus steam power. They did it during the T.V.A. fight.

But this is what the figures show: From 1934 to 1940, the amount of coal used in the area served by T.V.A. increased 250 per cent. The increase in the United States as a whole was 59 per cent.

There is the railroad argument. The railroad brotherhoods and railroad management contend that they would lose business to the seaway project. But this is what the seaway people say:

Cheaper water transportation would stimulate the shipment of some products, which, because of high rail rates, are not now shipped. They would represent a net increase in railroad traffic. That is what happened at the Panama Canal.

The opposition to the project which really hurts comes from cities like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Baltimore. Cities have ports and therefore fear the competition of cities like Chicago, Detroit and Duluth as ports. They also have large representations in the House of Representatives.

The Chambers of Commerce and the port authorities of those Eastern cities maintain—and let their congressmen know that they maintain—that they would lose plenty of foreign trade.

Seaway proponents see some loss of foreign trade to Eastern ports, but also say that it would be more than made up by the direct all water shipping that will come from the Midwest to the Eastern ports.

These Eastern cities now get their Midwest goods through rail transport. If the project is completed they will get much more goods than now—and through their port facilities. The argument has not penetrated yet, however, and many congressmen from the big Eastern cities are likely to vote against the St. Lawrence seaway.

These are the main arguments continually leveled at those who favor the project. They have been presented off and on for as long as the seaway was thought about. That, at present count, has been some 50 years.

And they will be advanced again with as much force as always as the House and Senate once again begin the seemingly eternal wrangle over United States participation in the St. Lawrence seaway and power project.

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Guaranteed to make radio audiences laugh

Kendall's Formula

By Richard G. Kendall

From his column, "Journal of a Journeyman," in the Portland Press Herald

EARLY last week I finished *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and was left with nothing to do but listen to the radio. It was a profitable interlude. I don't mean that I got into an audience participation program and won a dozen nylons, a refrigerator, a freezing cabinet, a 16-cylinder sedan and a Schnauzer dog. But I did crack the formula for radio comedy. I will outline it here and wait for the sponsors to beat a pathway to my door.

All comedy programs, I discovered, are more or less alike. I suppose this is due either to simple piracy or overlapping contracts held by the gag writers. Still, it may be that the writers all patronize the same wholesale house. These performers, Jack Carson, Jack Benny, Jack Haley, Eddie Cantor and Rudy Vallee, have one common characteristic for comedy purposes. Each professes to be tighter than a mail order shoe.

I will use that device. My stooge, Harry Von Lee Jellison Tugwell Rochester, will enter from stage right and say, "Boss, what are we havin' for supper tonight?"

"Lamb chops," I will answer.

"Hadn't we better make that singular, Boss?"

"Well, all right. Lamb chop. And H. V. L. J. T. Rochester, when I have done with the chop, scrape all the fat off. Don't waste a bit of it."

"We gonna contribute it to the fat drive, Boss?"

"Don't be silly. We've got to economize around here and from now on I'm making my own soap."

That may not sound funny but I assure you it will kill a radio audience.

There's another gag I don't understand, but it is sure fire. As the announcer finishes his build-up and the wild applause subsides, I go to the mike and say, "Hello, folks. This is Richard Broadcasting Worried State Kendall . . ." I pause at that point while the audience howls. As they quiet down I resume, "to tell you that if you don't brush your gums you'll be a bunch of toothless bums." It doesn't sound funny to me, either, but the audience love it. It says so right here on my chart.

Another asset in my proposed radio career is the fact that I have four daughters. This lends itself to many amusing possibilities. For instance, I am on stage with my announcer and the girl singer from my show. We put on a little act in which I am persuading her to marry me.

"Listen, Shirley," I say (I hope

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to get Shirley Temple to play the part), "marry me, and I'll shower you with diamonds. Marry me and we'll settle down at my little 272-acre avocado ranch at San Fernando Valley. We'll have saddle horses, station wagons, plenty of butter and cream. I'll even find you a pair of nylons." (Pause here for laughter.) "And then . . . and then, Shirley, some day there'll be the pitter patter of little feet on the floor of our hacienda. It will be our little son."

The announcer, who serves as straight man, will interpose, "A little son? Gee, Dick, have you had a look at the record, lately?"

This will murder 'em. I understand that radio sponsors pay fabulous salaries for that sort of stuff and I can turn it out by the yard, or steal it from the other five or six stars, or patronize the same wholesale gag house. What difference does it make where the stuff comes from so long as it sells toothpaste?

That reminds me. What's left to sell? Oh, I'll wait around, anyway. I can afford to at the prices the sponsors will pay.

Down with monotony and dullness!

A Tip to the Radio

By William Bohn

From his column in The New Leader

ON March 7 the Federal Communications Commission sent out a long and interesting letter to our broadcasting stations. Its report, in fact, covers all of 139 pages. This whole literary effort is aimed at checking "advertizing excesses" and improving "the quality of program service."

This is good news. Congratulations may be premature. This may be, after all, only a good idea. But the fact that someone down there in Washington is concerned about what comes in through the tubes which blow out every now and then is cheering as the note of the first robin.

I would deprive neither the F.C.C. nor the broadcaster of suggestions which have been seething in my consciousness for years. It is my hunch that the President's commission has little to do with the actual quality of programs. This business of selling words that go out over the air-waves is very much a "private" business. Nothing was ever more public, but in our humorous way we call it private. And it is just about as private as steel or automobiles or oil or soap. For it is, dear children, the sponsors who decide what you and I shall hear. And if any limitations are to be placed on the sponsors, they must be set by the National Association of Broadcasters. So it is to the gentlemen of this august Association that I am really addressing myself.

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I have two suggestions to make, but first I would like to put over a couple of suggestions concerning my right to testify on this subject. I am the broadest-minded fellow in the world. I like practically any sort of thing if it is fairly good of its kind. And I believe in democracy. I don't think the programs should be tailored to suit me or my friends or the folks who have my high-class tastes. If there are millions who enjoy reading *The Daily News,* there must be more millions who think the soap operas are just right.

We all—good taste or bad—pay our share of the costs. Perhaps some of us never thought of that. Nobody ever rapped at the door and presented a bill for the *Quiz Kids* or *Lum an' Abner,* so an innocent citizen may get the notion that all the jokes, music, news and singing sales-talks are free. A moment's meditation will serve to show him that, like everything else, he pays for what he gets. It is all added to the prices of the cigarettes, the soap and the super-accurate watches. It is because we pay that we have a right to kick.

Very well. We all pay—so we all have a right to get more or less what we want. That is, all the big crowds have this right. The nature of radio is such that little sects or persons with esoteric tastes cannot expect to be regularly catered to. Radio is for the millions. What I would like to have in this country is a broadcasting system that would give all of the great groups of citizens a chance to hear something that they will like at practically any hour of the day or night.

I look at the morning paper and I see that, whether I like it or not, from 11 to 12, I am practically forced to listen to soap opera. It is unjust. It is tyrannical. It is like the Russian one-party system. There is only one ticket. Is it for this that we have fought all the wars and paid all the taxes?

What I am about to suggest is not exclusively in my own interest. If the broadcasting companies would accept my idea, they would have more listeners and make more money. And the plan is so simple that it is strange that it has not occurred to more brilliant minds. Let us make a simple classification of sorts of radio material. We have, let us say, six sorts of programs: classical music, popular music (including jazz, swing or whatever is the most recent name it goes by), news and discussion, drama (including soap), variety shows and six o' clock kid stuff. If you don't like my classification, make a better one.

We have four great chains which cover the country. It would be just as easy to have six. Now suppose that these six chains make a mutually agreeable arrangement. Each one agrees to give equal periods of time to each classification and they all agree to arrange programs so that any one of the six sorts of entertainment may be enjoyed at any time. Both the broadcasting companies and the customers would be benefitted. The companies would have more listeners and could charge higher prices for their time. The customers would get what they want.

So far as this one business is concerned, I am all for competition and individual enterprise. Or, anyway,

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enterprise. There has been little of it up to now. If during the housekeeping morning hours all the stations deluge us with the domestic trials of *Next-Door Neighbor* or during the evening most of the stations simultaneously overwhelms us with gag-filled vaudeville, that is not competition. We are offered cans with slightly different labels but the contents have no variety.

Those in New York hardly appreciate their good fortune. They have a city-owned station, WNYC. Now don't think that I am going to blow my horn for a government-owned system like that of Great Britain or Russia. But Station WNYC often gives us our only chance of making a choice. The other afternoon when every other station in this great metropolis was filling the air with stuff for psychopaths, I turned to 81 on the dial, and there came over the air the music of a piano and a violin. The performers were a young man and a young woman from the faculty of one of our schools of music. They were not introduced with breath-taking clamor—as if they were circus performers. And the music was not smudged with tasteless encomium. Two artists were to play something from Brahms. And they played. That was all. But how beautiful, how simple, how satisfying it was! One thing that the great companies never seem to learn is that you do not need great names or a hundred-piece orchestra or a howling hullabaloo about every performer or number. Good wine needs no bush, and over-grown bushes inspire nothing but suspicion.

My point is that here in New York WNYC gives the big commercial companies real competition. As long as the City Station is on the air you can turn to it and get something sensible, decent or beautiful. But in most areas the listeners have no real choice. All of the great companies furnish the same sort of thing.

Now there are many wave-lengths. So far as the techniques of the business are concerned, it would be possible to have all sorts of competition. Suppose that in each area one wave-length were given to an educational association, one to the churches and one to the trade unions. Or the three of them could divide the time of one station. And then suppose that each great city had its own station. Too often, you can guess, the good people who would put on the programs would be dull—and dullness is the unforgivable sin. It is what I am against. But the slow and uninteresting programs would soon pass out. Here and there up-and-coming churchmen or educators or trade unionists would learn how to put their stuff over. There would be a chance to develop varied programs to suit all tastes.

And that should be the object of any directives sent out by the F.C.C. We want variety.

• As the closing bars of Rossini's "William Tell" overture were being played, during a music appreciation class, the teacher said: "Now tell me the name of the piece and who wrote it."

The answer: "The Lone Ranger, by Cheeriots."

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Roosevelt was a conservative

"Normalcy" May Bring Capitalist Downfall

By Ralph McGill

From his column in The Atlanta Constitution

IF you are hungry and a man comes along and says, "Join me and fight and you and your children will eat"—that man will get up and go and fight.

A full belly never looks for a fight.

Every political leader in this country knows that truth and uses it. The contented don't join in political protest.

Huey Long was using it when he rallied the poor from the bayous and hills of Louisiana.

"Here," he said, "we stand by the tree beneath which Evangeline waited for her love . . . but she is not the only one who has waited . . . you have waited, too . . . where are the roads they promised you? . . . the schools? . . . the hospitals? . . . the clinics for your children? . . . where are they?"

The South knows this type of "promising" politician, who appeals to the discontent in people; who knows how to touch that spot in those who believe life has not dealt fairly with them . . . the South knows him better than any other section, although he is by no means confined to the South . . . it is just that we have more people with more lacks.

It is the same technique the world over.

It is very easy for a Communist in Greece or Yugoslavia or any other country to say, "You have waited long enough. Come with me and we will get food and a place to live and a job."

It is a simple task for a Socialist to say, in an old capitalistic-system country like Britain, enormously conservative though it still may be in its thinking:

"You have waited too long for decent housing, for medical care, for a decent standard of living. Come join with me and we will nationalize the Bank of England; nationalize medicine and dentistry; nationalize insurance next, and give to you that which our old system did not give you . . ."

There is a little touch of Huey Long in all of it?

Certainly. But don't forget there is an even greater touch of truth. That is why it works.

It was, and is, my honest opinion that history in the generations to come will write the late Franklin D. Roosevelt down as a conservative.

Today his name still means, to many persons, radical measures, left-wing actions. Just keep in mind that when the historian of 50 and 100 years from now studies the man he will study him and this country in relationship to everything else which was going on at the time. What was happening in the rest of

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the world in 1932? And what continued to happen in the various countries in regard to social and political changes.

The historian will measure all that. He will see changes brought about by armed revolution abroad and peacefully in the United States. He will come up with the fact that in 1946 the capitalistic system was still healthy, even if suffering from an itch or so, all confined and under control, only in the United States of America. He will find that all the labor unions, save the few Communist-dominated ones, publicly approved the profit system. They were demanding more of the profits but they approved the system. He will find that even the ultra-left-wing organizations were not asking for the abolishment of the capitalist system. But only for the nationalization of some of its features.

If there had been a radical or demagogue come to office in 1932 who had put self above country, he could have had almost anything he wanted; could have instituted extreme socialistic measures at once; could have assumed the most extreme powers and the people would have sustained him over a fearful Congress. It would be well for the leaders of today, in whatever capacity, the clergy, the politicians, the business leaders, not to forget the temper of the country in those days.

No one can read the future. One can guess. We are not going to do a good job of feeding Europe. We can't do all that is needed and we are not convinced we ought to do as much as we can. The latter fact is the real tragedy.

We are a paradoxical people.

Those who were loudest in demanding our Army and Navy be "brought home" are loudest in demanding we be "firm" with Russia, and in all foreign policy controversies.

Those who condemn the communist activities on the Continent are the loudest in opposing loans and food for those countries which would help them combat communism.

It doesn't make sense.

We can be sure of one thing—if the Republican and Democratic parties ignore the tides running in the world today and seek to "go back to normalcy," they will do this country the greatest harm possible to be done it.

• A mother was awakened from sleep by muffled, frantic screams from her three-year-old daughter's room. From under the covers at the bottom of the bed came an agonized cry: "Mama! Come tell me where I am! I can't find me!"

• A young college graduate entered the retail business which his father had run for 40 years.

"Well, Dad," he said, "when are we going to take inventory and learn how much we have made?"

"Son," said the father, "measure that bolt of calico on the top shelf and figure what it's worth. That's what I started with. All the rest of this place is profit."

—*Typo Graphic*

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FORUM: SHOULD CONGRESS I

YES!

By Alice B. McGinty

CURRENT controversy threatening the passage of the Pepper Minimum Wage Increase Bill (S.1349) sharpens that rusty saw: "the more things change, the more they remain the same." For the Pepper bill merely re-affirms the principles and re-establishes the effectiveness of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Employer groups in opposition continue to sweep the same old strings in an effort to call back from the limbo of laissez-faire spectres which the record of the Fair Labor Standards Act could easily dispel. We can only conclude that these employer groups are basically opposed to the principle of minimum wage legislation and will continue to be opposed regardless of the continuing need for such legislation.

The necessity for the establishment by the state of a minimum wage rate was first recognized in France in 1270 and in England in 1351 with the enactment of the Statute of Laborers. Recognition of this need implies the basic acceptance by the state of the principle that the health and protection of workers is a matter of public interest. The basic inequality in the bargaining position of the employer and the employee engendered by the capitalistic system was aggravated by the Industrial Revolution. The need for some disinterested governing agency to regulate relations between the two groups became imperative during the nineteenth century. Employers and employees rarely cooperated voluntarily. Labor was forced to bargain only on the basis of economic advantage to the employers concerned. The state intervened directly to restore some semblance of equality in bargaining position by establishing minimum wage legislation in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and France. The federal government of the United States has moved slowly in this field, first influencing the standards of employment in industry by passing an eight-hour day law for government employees in 1868. The states took the initiative in enacting minimum wage legislation, Massachusetts enacting the first minimum wage legislation in 1912. California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraka, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin followed in 1913. By 1917, Arkansas and Kansas brought the total up to 11. The first federal act came in 1918 when Congress, acting as a "state legislature" for the District of Columbia, enacted a similar law providing that minimum wages paid to women and minors in the District of Columbia were to be adequate to supply "the necessary cost of living" and to "maintain them in good health and proctect their morals." This law was challenged in Adkins v. Children's Hospital (261 U.S. 525), 1923, on

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:REASE THE MINIMUM WAGE?

NO!

By Mary Katharine Strong

ONCE again the heart of the humanitarian weeps for the lowly-paid worker. It wept in 1938, and the result was the Fair Labor Standards Act. The results in 1946 may be the Pepper minimum wage increase bill. If this second effort is successful, will we see another movement eight years hence to increase still further the minimum wage? Is there any limit to the eventual wage floor to be set by legislative fiat?

The Pepper bill would increase the legal minimum wage from 40 to 65 cents an hour. An increase of 62½ per cent is not to be taken lightly. Not even the bold General Motors workers dared ask for more than 30 per cent! The additional horizontal coverage of the act in addition, will mean that 11,000,000 workers will be affected directly by this 62½ per cent increase. The effects on our economy of such legislation can be tremendous. And by 1950 every full-time worker will be receiving $30 a week, regardless of his economic contribution to society. All this and Heaven, too!

Admitting that in many cases a minimum wage may be desirable, one can still question the means by which administration leaders and labor unions are attempting to accomplish this end. Objections to the establishment by Congress of a national, inflexible minimum wage fall under two broad headings: political and economic.

From the political viewpoint, one may legitimately ask why it is that a special group in our economy is to be thus favored. Certain pressure groups have asked themselves the same question, and are now demanding that the benefits be given to another special group, the farmers. If a case can be made for raising the wages of the manufacturing workers, why cannot an equally valid case be made for the group which traditionally ends up each year in the red. Any arguments of increased purchasing power, or minimum standards of living, can be applied equally well to the farmer.

PARITY AMENDMENT

The full implications of this logical extension are to be found in the Pace amendment to the minimum wage bill. This Senate-approved rider provides for a re-adjustment of the parity price formula (the price of agricultural goods) to reflect all farm labor costs, including those covering work performed by more than 1,000,000 members of farm families.

The O.P.A. and the Agriculture Department have repeatedly opposed the

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the grounds that it violated the due process clause of the Constitution. Although the Supreme Court had declared that minimum wage legislation came within the police power of the state in Stettler v. O'Hara (69 Oregon 519, 139 Pac 743), 1914; Lorsen v. Rice (100 Wash. 642, 171 Pac 1037), 1918; Holcombe v. Creamer (231 Mass, 99, 120 N.E. 354), 918; it declared the District law unconstitutional. Three justices dissented and Brandeis declined to participate. Thomas Reed Powell concludes from the composition of the court that "the unconstitutionality of minimum wage legislation has been dictated by the calendar rather than the Constitution." Since most of the state laws were patterned after the District law, they, too, were considered to be null and void and thus became inoperative.

CHANGE IN ATTITUDE OF COURT

The West Coast Hotel Case, 1937, marked the first change in the attitude of the Court. It declared that minimum wage legislation was not in violation of the due process clause of the Constitution. This case, reversing the decision of the Adkins case, set the pattern for new legislation in the states. By November, 1945, 26 states and the District of Columbia had enacted some kind of minimum wage legislation.

The West Coast Hotel Case was a direct cause of the enactment of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938. This act was based on the recognition by the federal government of the general principle expressed in Justice Stone's dissenting opinion in the Tipaldo case: "a generation ago they (social problems) were for the individual to solve, today they are the burden of the nation." Specifically, it meant statutory recognition that Labor is not a commodity; that wages are not always the result of free bargaining; that freedom of contract is a farce when it means that the worker is free only to starve; and that the economic status of the "unorganized millions" can be improved only by legislative enactment. It countered the basic weakness of the bargaining process by establishing a floor under wages and thus putting labor and management in a more truly competitive position. Minimum wage legislation thus assumed its place latently in the body of a slowly evolving social philosophy. We had already recognized the need for statutory regulation of hours, provisions of adequate rest periods, safety devices in all dangerous occupations, workmen's compensation, child labor laws, old-age compensation and recognition of the right of collective bargaining.

PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 provided that on October 23, 1938, the minimum wage should be set at 25 cents; on October 3, 1939 it should be set at 30 cents; by October 3, 1945, 40 cents, or a rate (not less than 30 cents) as prescribed by the administrator's order, whichever is lower. The rates did not apply to Puerto Rico or Virgin Islands or employees covered by Wage Order pursuant to industry committee recommendations.

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Hours and overtime rates do not apply to first processing of dairy products, cotton ginning and compressing, cotton seed processing, sugar and syrup processing. They also do not apply in not over 14 weeks in the calendar year to seasonal fresh fruits and vegetables first processing and canning, seasonal operations on agricultural and horticultural commodities, and the handling, slaughtering and dressing of poultry or livestock. It provides for the appointment of an administrator who shall convene industry committees which shall recommend rates which will not substantially curtail industry employment. The industry committee shall recommend classifications within industry to fix highest minimum rate not over 40 cents per hour. Seamen, employees in loading, unloading, packing of fish and other aquatic forms of animal and vegetable life, or propagating, processing, marketing, freezing, canning, storing, curing distributing thereof, agricultural or horticultural processing employees and dairy employees are not covered by the act.

In 1938, 300,000 workers received pay increases when the 25 cent minimum became effective. In 1939, 650,000 workers benefitted; in 1940, 313,000; in 1941, 638,000; in 1942, 805,000; in 1943, 278,000; in 1944, 609,000. These figures do not include the higher paid workers who benefitted by the upward adjustment of differentials. Individual pay increases were granted to 2,700,000 workers. From 1939 to 1943, workers earnings rose from $4,088,000,000 to $9,000,000,000, after taxes. Corporate profits after taxes rose from $2,579,000,000 in 1939 to over $5,500,000,000.

The 40-cent an hour minimum wage rate set by the Fair Labor Standards Act was not intended to be an end in itself, but the merest beginning toward the ultimate fulfillment of the policy of the act: "to correct and eliminate labor conditions detrimental to maintenance of minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency and general well being—without substantially curtailing employment or earning power."

AMENDMENT NECESSARY

At best, the minimum would have yielded only $800 per year. The W.P.A. emergency budget thought $903 essential. Since 1938, the cost of living has risen so that it would take 55 cents of today's money to equal the 40 cent standard of 1938. A W.P.A. budget for a family of four corrected for 1944 prices comes to $1621 or an hourly rate of 78 cents. The budget submitted by the Heller committee to maintain a minimum standard of health and decency comes to $2,964 or an hourly rate of $1.42.

During the war the War Labor Board rescued the policy of the act by issuing individual wage orders to individual employers to raise the minimum to 55 cents. The capacity of the War Labor Board, however is limited. It cannot issue general wage orders requiring employers not before the Board to increase wages. Moreover, as a wage order effects only one employer or a group of employers in an entire industry, it tends to accentuate competitive differences. It has, therefore, become necessary to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to carry out the original policy of the act.

The Pepper bill does this by establishing a 65 cent per hour minimum

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rate for the first year of operation; a 70 cent per hour for the second year of operation; a 75 cent per hour thereafter, and not less than rates (not over 75 cents per hour for unskilled labor) as prescribed by the administrator's order, any time after effective date of amendments. In addition, it deletes the provisions prohibiting coverage of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands; seamen, agricultural or horticultural processing employers, dairymen, fish packers, and good processing workers. An administrator shall convene industry committees with the objective of 75 cents for unskilled jobs and to provide maintenance of reasonable wage differentials between interrelated job classifications. An industry committee shall recommend industry subdivisions to fix the highest unskilled job rate (not over 75 cents per hour); it shall define reasonable job classifications and recommend rates to maintain wage differential between minimum for unskilled and interrelated job classifications. The Pepper amendment prohibits the employment of oppressive child labor by the employer engaged in commerce or the production of goods for commerce and provides for action to recover liability of unpaid wages limited to five years from the date of the accrual of the liability.

OBJECTIONS

The charges raised against the Pepper bill by employer groups show little originality. In 1938, employers contended that the Fair Labor Standards Act would (1) destroy wage flexibility and force the closing down of plants; (2) increase costs and prices and decrease sales and employment; (3) destroy the power of collective bargaining; (4) destroy the separation of powers between the states and the federal government; (5) create uncertainty and cut profits. Yet the changes in the wage structure were absorbed without serious dislocation.

In 1939, two years before the war, an editorial appeared in the Richmond *News-Leader,* Richmond, Virginia: ". . . the federal wage standards have had a gratifying effect in Richmond. The income of more than 2,000 families have been substantially increased. If reports are to be credited, the quality of work of the average stemmer has improved to a point that largely has compensated for the boost in wages. . . . "

INFLATION

For the charge of "inflation," we need only consider the exact effects the proposed increase will have on the industries primarily affected—tobacco, lumber, textile, apparel and furniture. Fifty-eight per cent of the workers in the tobacco industry receive less than the proposed minimum. A wage increase would reduce the total of 1944 profits ($154,000,000) by 9 per cent. The resulting levels of profit would still stand 22 per cent above industry's pre-war level if all of this increase were absorbed by profits. If the cost of the wage increase—$14,000,000—were added to the cost of the product, 12,000,000,000 to 15,000,000,000 packs of cigarettes, it would amount to one-tenth of one per cent a pack. (An excise tax of seven cents per pack is levied by the federal government. One cent of this tax yields to the United States

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Treasury the total amount of the wage bill or ninetimes the cost of raising the wage to 65 cents.)

An increase of 54 per cent of the workers in the lumber and timber industries would increase the payroll $67,000,000 or nine per cent. This amounts to 53 per cent of the industry's profits. A reduction would still leave 690 per cent before taxes above pre-war levels. It would yield a return of 10 per cent on net worth or 7 times pre-war average.

It would take an additional $105,000,000 a year to raise 47 per cent of the workers in the textile industry to 65 cents an hour. This additional cost represents a little over 12 per cent of profits earned by the industry in 1944. If the wage bill were absorbed entirely by profits, the above figure would be reduced to 435 per cent over the 36-39 average before taxes or four times the pre-war return. If the entire bill were to be passed on to the consumer, it would require a price increase of one and a half per cent on the manufacturing level.

In the apparel and furniture industries, the increase would add 40 per cent to the wage bill or 33 per cent of 1944 profits for the apparel industry and 17 per cent for the furniture. If the entire bill were charged to profits, they would still be 157 per cent above pre-war levels and would yield a return of 19 per cent on net worth or double pre-war rates. If all of the bill were passed on to the consumer, it would average less than one per cent. Furthermore, the elimination of premium pay, and the reduction of the work week to 40 hours would offset almost one half of the increase proposed in the tobacco industry, three-fourths of the increase in the lumber industry, 70 per cent of the increase in the textile industry, one-third in the apparel industry.

ACT PROTECTS FARMER

The Pepper bill would protect the half million workers on industrialized farms who have no rights under the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act, or the present Fair Labor Standards Act. It would aid the farmer by increasing the domestic market for his goods by preventing the downward deflation of wages, by maintaining the purchasing power of the people who spend more of their income for what the farmer produces. The failure of the market to match the increasing production of agriculture will result in a serious price situation for the farmer. Families with an average annual income below $500 consume in a year only a little more than 1,000 pounds of food per person. They buy relatively cheap foods—bread, potatoes, beans. Families with an income of $5,000 or more buy a ton of food per person. In 1939, when the index of hourly earnings of wage workers stood at 102, the farmer's share of retail prices of 58 foods was 41 per cent of the total. In 1943 when the index of hourly earnings was 148, the farmer's share was up to 57 per cent. Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson testified before the committee hearings on the Pepper bill that there had been no increase in the price of commodities bought by farmers because of the operation of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The quarterly index paid by farmers for items used in family living stood at 122 in June, 1938; 121 in September

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1938; 120 in December; 119 in March and June of 1939. In 1940 the index was still below the level of mid-1938.

Bargaining power has neither been destroyed nor weakened by the operation of the Fair Labor Standards Act. President Roosevelt, in recommending the legislation for passage by the 75th Congress, January 3, 1938, said, "we are seeking, of course, only legislation to end starvation wages and intolerable hours; more desirable wages are and should be the product of collective bargaining." Throughout the brief experience of minimum wage legislation, no tendency for the established minimum to become the maximum has become evident. Industry still has the superior staying power as evidenced in the recent General Motors strike. The only way to approach equality in bargaining power is the establishment of a floor under wages below which workers cannot compete for jobs. It has also protected the worker's bargaining position by eliminating fly-by-night industries that contribute to wage instability.

The Fair Labor Standards Act does not neglect the employer in its concern for the worker. It stimulates him to greater efficiency, protects him from the competition of substandard labor, increases the productivity and improves the morale of his workers. It prohibits him from falling back on the easy excuse of lower wages as the only remedy for the high cost of production. The high cost of production is more apt to be due to waste than to labor costs. Henry Ford paid a minimum wage in 1926 that seemed fantastic to the minimum wage advocates of that day, yet Mr. Ford prospers.

The absorption of the increase required by the original Fair Labor Standards Act, and let us remember that people were receiving 5, 10 and 15 cents an hour seven years ago, proves that industry can pay. If industry cannot pay the increase proposed by the Pepper bill, it is parasitic. If it is necessary to maintain parasitic industries, let them be subsidized from the public treasury and not from the sweated labor of substandard wage-earners.

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Pace bill. Chester Bowle's has said that the amendment would shoot retail food prices up 15 per cent and increase the average family's food budget around $125 annually, besides forcing a price increase of seven per cent in cotton garments.

Special favors to any group are dangerous. It is difficult to see how the administration can, without being accused of partisanship, pump for a minimum wage for workers while blocking efforts of the farm group. Commented Senator Russell bitterly:

"It is not inflationary to increase the price of a raw commodity such as steel by $5 a ton in order to allow a wage increase of 18½ cents an hour for an average of $1.24 an hour in the great steel industry, but if we talk of a measure which would increase the wages of the cotton farmers 3 cents an hour it immediately poses a threat of inflation. . . . "

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As this area of governmental activity expands, it becomes increasingly evident that each increase lessens the efficiency of the organ trying to do too many things at one time. Public approval and acceptance is conversely greatly diminished as more toes are stepped on with each expansion.

It thus behooves Congress to consider very carefully any contemplated increase in governmental power. The situation is analogous to the boy crying "Wolf." As public hostility grows toward an administration concerning itself with matters which could just as well be settled by private groups, the probability grows that the voters will turn thumbs down on vital matters which only the government can handle adequately. The criterion which a wise Congress will follow should be: "Can private groups deal adequately with this problem? If so, our energies will be directed toward other matters in which governmental aid is necessary."

In this method of social control exists the highest degree of economy in the use of coercion, and the greater the society the more imperative it is to economize in the exercise of coercion.

IS GOVERNMENTAL EXPANSION NECESSARY?

The minimum wage is one field where the government can certainly leave the problem to private employers and labor unions. As one witness remarked before the Senate's Committee on Labor and Education: "We believe that the great majority of workers in this nation now realize that they must look to themselves and their employers, and not to the government, to assure themselves adequate wages."

A scant ten years have elapsed since the Wagner Act made a reality of labor's theoretical right to organize and bargain collectively. In this short space of time, announces the Labor Department, written collective bargaining agreements cover 13,800,000 workers, or nearly half the 29,000,000 employees apt to fall eventually within the scope of labor unions No indications are present that within the following ten years the remaining 15,000,000 will not accept the prevelant belief that in union there is strength. Workers can obviously obtain a 65-cent minimum, or more, by their own efforts if they are interested enough to join their A. F. of L. or C. I. O. brethren. If the straits of many workers are as desperate as administration leaders claim, there *is* a solution, and a better one, than is to be found in minimum wage legislation.

A trend of the times is to be found in the statement of A. F. of L. President William Green: "The A. F. of L. is seeking to bring about a better economic order in the future by lifting the earning power of the nation's workers to a 75-cent-an-hour minimum." The C. I. O. has recently announced the beginning of a drive to swell its ranks in the traditionally low-paid South. As is indicated in the giant strides made by the textile workers, the natural action of employers vis-a-vis unions, rather than the government vis-a-vis employers, can accomplish as much, if not more, than any legislative fiat automatically increasing wages.

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As Supreme Court Justice Sutherland said in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (261 U.S. 525, 1922): "The ethical right of every worker, man or woman, to a living wage may be conceded. One of the declared and important purposes of trade organizations is to secure it. And with that principle and with every legitimate effort to realize it in fact, no one can quarrel."

The answer, then, to those receiving substandard wage is for the federal government to clear all the obstacles in the path of fair collective bargaining, and to use its tools of conciliation, information and publicity to help the workers help themselves.

ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

In crossing the slim line separating political from economic objections to the minimum wage bill, more immediate disadvantages confront us.

There is first the broad social question of the purpose of a legislative-established minimum wage. Is it to set the bare minimum below which nobody can live? If this be the case, relief payments to the unemployed, handicapped and aged should be the same as the fixed minimum wage. We challenge those favoring the Pepper bill to point to a community which pays $30 weekly to its unemployed aid relief clients. If the minimum wage is different from relief doles there is room for some question as to what society intends. Is it setting a higher than minimum standard for wages? A lower than minimum for relief cases? It would seem that the voters and tax payers are perfectly willing to force private industry to pay a living standard which the community consistently refuses to grant to its unfortunates. There is no small measure of hypocrisy in this stand.

The further question exists as to just what President Truman and his advisers hope to serve by enactment of the Pepper bill. A significant line of argument has developed during congressional hearings on the bill. Time and again its supporters have pointed to the war-time increase in the cost of living as the *rationale* for upping the minimum wage. Thus Senator Murray, one of the bill's founding fathers, said:

"It is clear, then, that the step we are proposing falls considerably short of assuring even the minimum standards of living. *It is merely a re-adjustment of war-time changes in prices.*"

So, to counteract a temporary situation of war-time scarcity, which will, at the most, last only a few years, a permanent new high minimum wage is to be placed upon the statute books and upon American industry. Once written into law, it wil be politically impossible to repeal. Come hell or high water, boom or bust ,our economy is to be saddled with a measure admittedly designed to alleviate a temporary condition. A minimum of 75 cents an hour may be justified during prosperity; during depressions it can only be suicidal.

The administration tends to view the correlation between wages and prices as it suits its interests. In 1943, O.P.A. chief Prentiss Brown said:

"We propose to restore the balance between wages and the cost of living by bringing the cost of living back into line with wages. . . .

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"We must make it clear to workers that an increase in their wages means an increase in the price of food and other articles they buy.

"We have . . . recognized that wage rates are inevitably related to the cost of living."

This recognition seems to have died long ago.

One of the Pepper bill's heartiest advocates, Emil Rieve, Textile Workers of America president and former member of the W.L.B., told a Senate subcommittee that the 65-cents-an-hour measure would add $5,500,000,000 to the nation's wage bill as of 1943. And let us remember that the 1943 pay roll was one of the highest in our history. And what would be the total of the 75-cents-per-hour-provision?

The proposal to lift the minimum wage 62½ per cent this year and some 80 per cent by 1950 is clearly not in line with present cost of living statistics. Since 1939, according to the Bureau of Labor, the wholesale price of non-agricultural products has increased a little over 20 per cent. It would seem to be the aim of the administration to match each rise in the cost of living index with a triple increase in the minimum wage.

The figure of $5,000,000,000 in additional wages is in reality lower than the actual results of the Pepper bill. For not only will the minimum be increased, but those now receiving, and those in the levels immediately above 65 cents will have to receive additional wages to maintain the standard pay differential. A general escalator situation cannot help but result. During the senatorial hearings many advocates admitted that the bill would have an effect on other wages because of the need to maintain old differentials. In fact, the bill specifically provides for this eventuality. Section 2 says that rates must maintain reasonable job differentials between interrelated job classifications.

What will be the source of the huge increase in the nation's wage bill? Increased productivity, say labor leaders. Yet there is no reason at all to assume that an automatic increase in one's wages of 62½ per cent will cause an equal increase in productivity for the very same job. In fact, all recent statistics make this cry of greater labor efficiency but a rationalization. Even R. J. Thomas, former U.A.W. president, told the National Economic Committee of the Senate in 1940 that the productivity of workers in the automotive industry had been reduced from 5 to 10 per cent. Labor, management and government witnesses before the Mead committee testified that productivity had decreased from 15 to 50 per cent below pre-war levels. Henry Ford has stated that "On the whole, productivity per worker in our plants declined more than 34 per cent during the war period."

The nation's increased labor bill can then come from two sources: profits and still higher prices. Next year will probably see the end of price control, and there will be little to stop manufacturers from passing the additional cost on to the public. Permanent price control, which nobody desires, is the only answer to higher prices if the minimum wage measure becomes law. Prices will go up, labor will demand more money to buy the

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goods it produces, and before we know it we shall undoubtedly see another movement afoot to increase still further the minimum wage.

American wages are among the highest in the world. It is no coincidence that so also are its prices. In the post-war era, when thoughtful people are looking for the benefits of a freer world-wide trade to bring peace and prosperity in our time, any movement to increase even further our prices should be examined critically. No nation in the world can buy from us now; they must first borrow from us the necessary money. Only a nation-wide movement to lowered prices, to curb restraints in trade, to enforce a truly competitive economy will solve this dilemma. Wise leaders should seek this solution, which benefits labor more than do higher wages accompanied by higher prices.

To attempt to fix the same minimum wage in New York and Mississippi is to ignore realities. To set the same minimum for a huge industrial city as for a small rural community is equally fallacious. Our legislators are trying to impose a uniform rigid rate upon a diverse economy . Only hardship and, in many cases, bankruptcy can result. The W.L.B. recognized the nation's wage differential when it set the wage for loom fixers in New England at $1.02, while making it 90 cents in the South.

Wages are determined by the value added to the product by the worker. No amount of theorizing and no amount of injected social philosophy can change this situation. If a worker's services increase the value of the product as priced by only $20, the employer cannot afford to pay him $30. Many people can earn only $20 a week, and look to other sources to supplement their pay. The passage of the Pepper bill would mean that they would be without jobs, and might be thrown completely on government relief. Those workers who are of such calibre that they are not capable of contributing to the productive system enough to earn a 65-cent minimum wage would have little chance for employment. Thus one of the first effects of any such law is to swell the relief rolls. Is it not far better to let these workers contribute what they can to the economy, receive their just value in wages, and receive supplementary sums from the community rather than throwing the full burden for their support upon society?

This rise in unemployment is given added impetus as employers find themselves facing labor costs which they cannot meet. Wherever possible, machinery will be substituted for labor. The shadow of technological unemployment hangs over our society; why accentuate its horrors?

SECURITY FOR WHOM?

"Stability" and "security" have today become great passwords. But the words have been applied to the wrong field. Do we want a stable economy, which means prevention of entry into an established field, fixed wages, fixed prices, fixed transportation rates? This concept repudiates completely our philosophy of the free competitive economy, where inefficient firms pass from the scene, where wage rates are based upon the worth of the worker to his employers, just as prices are based upon the worth of the goods to the con-

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sumer. The drive for security has led us to take measures which involve interference with the economical allocation of resources brought about by competition. A rigid minimum wage only serves to make even more inflexible our economic situation. Is business going to be saddled with a 75-cents-an-hour minimum in the next depression? The results of such a policy can only be catastrophic.

Security, yes. But security for the individual, not for economic enterprise. Certainly, people are going to be hurt in the free play of competition, but an extensive system of social insurance and social security can give them the security they desire. Our outlook has been directed too much toward security of investors and restrictive practices of trade unions and too little directed toward security for 130,000,000 consumers. Only a healthy competitive system can give them that security.

Nobody can look upon the plight of our present sub-marginal workers and not wish to do something for them. But the present approach is wrong. A sound, long-term policy, involving none of the handicaps of a minimum wage law, would be to make the worker worth a decent wage. Until he is, no employer should be forced to pay him one. More attention to our public schools, a system of federal vocational training, health insurance, low-cost housing, greater labor mobility, all these things can achieve the same thing much better than legislative fiat automatically granting them the boon of $30 a week. At the same time, we should strengthen true collective bargaining so that the worker, once he is in a position to demand his due wage, will be able to obtain it. This, not the Pepper bill is the answer to "one-third ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed."

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The United States has dominant role in World Bank and Fund

World Bank in Policy-Making Sphere

By Sylvia Porter

From her column in The New York Post

THERE'S a naive impression around that the World Bank and World Fund are going to be strictly international financial institutions, operating in the technical realms of loans and currencies. That's not only a naive but it's also a narrow concept, for the truth is that these two organizations are going to be powerful forces in the spheres of world diplomacy and politics. They're going to be that powerful because the United States wants them to be—and the United States will make them be.

And it even may be that the World Bank and World Fund ultimately will become as important in molding the destinies of foreign lands as the United Nations organization itself.

The United Nations—and Britain especially—may have had a different idea about the functions and future of the World Bank and Fund back in July, 1944, when the Bretton Woods Conference was held.

The war with the Nazis and the Japs was still on then. The 44 countries participating in that parley were united against a common enemy, were tied together by a common aim for victory.

And when they created the World Bank, they spoke of it as an immense financial institution which would be managed by top-notch technicians and which would help make long-term loans to rehabilitate war-devastated territories and develop backward lands.

And when they created the World Fund, they spoke of this as a twin financial organization which also would be managed by technicians and which would offer short-term assistance to stabilize the currencies of member nations and thus, stimulate world trade.

But between July, 1944, and March, 1946, much has happened to the concept of the United Nations—politically, economically and financially.

And much has happened to the Bretton Woods concept of the World Fund.

The Big Three no longer are a close unit. The big, medium and small nations no longer are talking the same language of victory. We are now into the phase of shuffling for power.

And while this era of unsettlement and mistrust may not—and hopefully, will not—last, you can read the trends in the front-page dispatches about the Iranian crisis. You can see the nations lining up, can follow the formation of the blocs.

In the Security Council of the U. N., the United States is one of the Big Five and presumably, the

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power of Russia and Britain is equal to ours.

In the World Bank and World Fund, the United States also is one of the Big Five, but the division of power is entirely different.

In these "financial" institutions, voting is based on quotas and subscriptions. And because the United States is the largest contribution to both organizations, the United States has the overwhelming voting power —amounting to 39 per cent in the Bank, 33 per cent in the Fund. Actually, those percentages mean working control.

Putting it more plainly, the United States is the dominant voice, the dominant maker of trends in these world institutions.

Assume a European nation (you can choose your own name) comes to the World Fund for assistance in stabilizing its currency and assume that after proper investigation and deliberation, the 12 executive directors of the World Fund agree to grant that aid.

One of the executive directors of of the Fund will be an American and he'll actively participate in the discussions and voting, of course.

Can't you imagine this United States representative saying, at times, "We're helping you and we want to. But there are certain political policies in your land we don't like. And we'd be exceedingly interested in seeing those trends reversed."

Assume a South American nation (again, you choose one) comes to the World Bank for a loan to build some railroads and after proper examination, the executive directors of the Bank agree to grant that loan.

One of the 12 directors of the Bank will be an American. In addition, an American will be president of the Bank and an American will be chairman of its Governing Board.

Can't you imagine one of these United States spokesmen saying at times, "We want you to have this loan but in your country are certain movements we consider dangerous. And we'd be relieved if those movements were eliminated."

This is over-simplification and, admittedly, it's over-blunt. But it's also a realistic concept of the Fund and Bank.

And at the Savannah conference, where the Bank and Fund were formally established and where the United States was the outstanding nation, there was just no missing the emphasis on the political as well as the financial functions of the organizations.

• An elderly gentleman stopped to chuck a little pink baby under the chin.

"Let us hope," said the man, "that he grows up to be a stalwart, upright young man."

"Yes," smiled the young mother, "but I'm afraid it's going to be a bit difficult as . . . "

"Nonsense," the adviser continued, "as the twig is bent so the tree is inclined."

"I know it," the mother agreed, "but this twig is bent on being a girl, and we are inclined to let it go at that."

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Party leaders should lead not dictate

What Is a Party?

By Chester Rowell

From his column in The San Francisco Chronicle

POLITICAL reaction seems to be unanimous that Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace pulled a "boner" when he told a luncheon meeting of the Women's Democratic Club in Washington that Democratic Congressmen should be denied the support of the party organization and forbidden to run as "Democrats" unless they took that portion of the Truman (and Roosevelt) program which Wallace personally likes.

He also indicated that Republicans should similarly read out of their party those who did take this program. Thus there would be a mutual "purge," of Democratic conservatives and Republican radicals, into two new parties, each of which would mean something definite.

Simultaneously, Senator LaFollette was leading the remnant of his left-wing third-party "Progressives" into the Republican party, with the aim of making it the radical party. Governor Stassen, the most glamorous of the aspirants for the Republican presidential nomination was doing a similar thing, though less radically.

Governor Warren of California, who is not running for President and refused to be a nominee for Vice President, does want to be Governor for another term and will seek both the Republican and Democratic nominations, as California law and custom permit. He will win the nomination of his own party at the coming primaries, and will either win the Democratic nomination also, or receive so many votes of registered Democrats for it that the sum of the two will be an easy majority of the whole people. He has done this before, both for Attorney General and for Governor and won the election both times, in a state in which an overwhelming majority of the voters are registered as Democrats.

Thus, from these and other movements, the question comes into the foreground, as to what is a party, who are its members, and what, if any, is the difference between the two major parties.

Theorists are mostly agreed that logic is with the advocates of party reshufflings, in members and in platform principles. Realists are largely convinced that it can not be done, and would in any event do more harm than good. And the "practical" politicians, who set up conventions, dominate their nominations, and organize and finance campaigns, are virtually unanimous on the subject.

The function of the mass of the people, the rank-and-file voters of either party or neither, comes only at the final elections. And if the

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conventions have presented to the people nominees of the same sort, or of different sorts each trying to get the same votes, and have framed "straddling" platforms, which may not be carried out, the situation is no clearer, to the observer who is trying to make sense of it.

Wallace himself, incidentally, is no illustration of his own theory. He started out as a Republican; then became an ultra New Dealer, with some excursions into supporting American Labor party candidates against the regular Democratic nominee. Right or wrong he is and always has been a chronic insurgent.

For that matter, both recent Democratic Presidents, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, have crossed party lines, even in the formation of their cabinets. Stimson, Ickes and Wallace were Republicans. Wilson did the same thing, in attempting to purge Democrats who would not take his program. Grover Cleveland repudiated or vetoed measures which his party machine had put forward. And even Bryan, three-times Democratic nominee, broke with his party, and finally with his President, on the most vital ussues.

Of Republicans, McKinley and Taft, at least, repudiated the standpat tariffs of their parties, while all the Democratic Congresses have passed tariffs for high protection against the "for revenue only" pledges of most of their platforms, All the presidents of both parties have been for a League of Nations, on some terms, and especially for the World Court, but reactionary Congresses have defeated them all on these policies.

Or, going back even to the beginning of the Republican party, Lincoln stood for a reconciliation with the South, and Andrew Johnson barely escaped conviction on impeachment for trying to continue the Lincoln policies. There are many more ancient records of the same sort, going back literally to Washington and Jefferson.

In the majority of these cases, history and the course of events have justified the Presidents. But the right of presidents to dictate, rather than to lead, would have been repudiated by the whole American people, as a far worse evil than the blunders of even the weakest Congresses. In fact, our American democracy has functioned astonishingly well. More urgently than ever, we must cling to it now.

• "I love all heavenly Americans, but I do not believe Almighty God will permit their inordinate ambitions for world domination." Toyohiko Kagawa upon accepting appointment to the House of Peers. (At least, not on earth, Toyohiko.)

• Forain, the noted French painter-engraver, had but two hours to live. As he opened his eyes, he saw his wife standing beside him.

"You look fine, dear," she assured the artist.

Soon his son arrived and said: "You look splendid, father."

Then his doctor entered and pronounced: "Superb."

Forain nodded wearily to all of them and sighed: "I'm going to die cured."

—*Mercury*

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Housing is still in the horse-and-buggy stage

Long-Term Housing Problem

By Merlo Pusey

From his column in The Washington Post

AMID the confusion and disillusionment of the post-war period, the steam which Wilson Wyatt is putting behind the housing program is a refreshing sign. His assault on the housing problem has assumed the characteristics of a David and Goliath affair. And while the David in this story is a long way from triumphant victory over the giant, his courage and activity have brought new hope to a great number of wretchedly housed Americans.

Mr. Wyatt's immediate objective is to provide new housing for veterans at prices or rentals they can afford to pay. The task of producing 2,700,000 new dwelling units in the next two years is critically urgent because of the acute shortage of housing resulting from the war. But this is only the spearhead of the housing movement. Behind it is the larger task of building 12 to 15 million dwelling units in the next decade for families who have never had a decent place to live.

Possibly the most significant factor in the present outlook is that energy, initiative and imagination have been brought to bear upon the whole housing problem. Mr. Wyatt is more than a sound thinker about housing; he is also a driving force toward action. If he succeeds in intermeshing all of the complex factors that are essential to the creation of a stable mass-production housing industry, it will be one of the great accomplishments of our time.

The unpalatable fact is that a vast number of people in our cities have always been shamefully housed. Living quarters have been produced, with precious little comprehensive planning and largely for families in the upper income brackets. As they have become old and obsolete, they have been passed down to families farther down the economic scale. Only in recent years has there been any concerted effort to build new and appropriate housing for families in the middle and lower income brackets. And this has been provided in relatively small quantities.

We had a building boom in the 1920's. But it was followed by a bust because so little effort was made to provide modern housing for the groups who needed it most. In the 1930's the revival was so halting that we fell critically short of providing enough housing to supply the new families added to our population.

At present, therefore, the United States presents the spectacle of the most wealthy nation in the world steadily slipping backward in this vital matter of housing. Our great motor industry has put the nation on wheels, and other industries have filled our homes and offices with

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gadgets. But the business of providing comfortable, healthful and attractive living quarters in a pleasant environment is still in the horse-and-buggy stage.

Considerable progress has been made in providing public housing for those whose incomes give them no chance of obtaining a decent home through private enterprise. Much less has been done to date to improve the quality and increase the quantity of housing available to families in the middle income brackets. The time seems to be ripe for concentration of our best city planning, engineering and financing genius on the rescue of both these categories of city dwellers from the depressing drabness or downright squalor of their home environment.

The fact that this task involves a very large measure of rebuilding for most of our cities should only quicken the general eagerness for undertaking it. Most of our cities are afflicted with the ugliness, the blight and incongruity that result from poor planning. Today they are frantically pushing into new suburban areas to get away from the decay attacking them at or near the core. But that trend leaves enormous pockets of rotten housing, crime, delinquency and disease to spread their demoralizing influence through the entire community.

What are obviously needed are major operations to eliminate living conditions that bring out the worst characteristics of human kind. These will require new vision in our legislative halls as well as in administrative agencies and among the peoples themselves. It is a matter of good fortune that such vision has already been manifested in the drafting of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill and in the shaping of Mr. Wyatt's program as housing expediter.

This great objective should not be lost while every effort is being turned to the creation of housing for veterans. The great hope that Mr. Wyatt and the sponsors of housing legislation in Congress have aroused is that the momentum we must achieve in meeting the present emergency can be projected into the rebuilding of our cities during the next several decades.

• Two Cockneys were sent out to cut down trees. As they were nearing exhaustion, the commanding officer appeared and asked: "Corporal, in which direction are you going to fell that tree?"

The shortest Cockney paused, wiped his brow, and growled: "Ow the 'ell do I know? Do I look like a bloody prophet?"

• Two bandits had robbed a Chicago bank of $100,000. As they were about to make a break for the door, the cashier spoke up:

"Say, fellers," he said, "would you mind doing me a favor?"

The first bandit growled: "Well, what is it? We haven't got all day, you know."

"This will only take a minute," the cashier assured him. "Outside the bank there's a sign that says 'Assets—$2,000,000.' Would you mind changing that to $1,900,000!"

—*Tit-Bits*

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EDITOR

The Food Crisis

What must we do to stop starvation in Europe?

TO STOP STARVATION

This country has not yet done everything that it can and must do to mitigate a famine that in one country after another has been reaching more and more alarming proportions.

Former Governor Lehman, declares that "voluntary measures alone, no matter how energetically they are pursued, are not enough," and that rationing "not only is required but will be supported and appreciated by consumers." To this the Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton P. Anderson, replies, with Mr. Hoover, that what we confront is essentially a problem of the next 120 days; and that it would take too long to get the necessary Congressional appropriations, restore rationing boards, have cards printed, investigate individual claimants, and issue tokens or tickets.

The longer problem is not how to distribute scarcity but how to create abundance. The causes of the present food shortage in so many lands are numerous and complex. Among the most important of them are the destruction and disorganization brought about by the war and drought. But some of the major causes for the shortage lie in political and economic errors that still continue. Russian troops have seized stores and cattle; they continue to live upon the land of the countries they occupy.

Another cause of shortage is the reparation terms as they have been announced and applied. To tell individuals, or to tell a nation, that their living standard will not be permitted to go above a predetermined level regardless of the effort they put forth is one of the most certain ways of reducing effort.

A factor that has not begun to get the attention it calls for as a discouragement to production is that of price-fixing. In this country, as a result of the pressure of the farm bloc and the persistence of the parity principle, prices of agricultural products in general probably have not been held too low. But price-fixing has helped to bring food shortages here because of the setting of wrong relationships between prices.

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But price-fixing in other countries, where the problem is greatly intensified by rapidly depreciating currencies, has led to the creation of far more serious shortages.

Not until this situation is analyzed critically and faced candidly, not until the mounting governmental interventions that are helping to create shortages all over the world are terminated, will the problem of the world's food be permanently solved.

—*The New York Times*

A JUMP AHEAD OF HUNGER
—A MILE BEHIND THE PUBLIC

Feeding of Europe's destitute war victims has become a desperate race with starvation.

The *Record* agrees with Governor Lehman:

That the Hoover-Truman program of voluntary belt-tightening won't begin to meet the emergency food needs of Europe;

That the Government must requisition what food is needed; send it over, and divide up what is left among the American people—if necessary, by rationing.

Supplies for Yugoslavia were diverted to Italy because Yugoslavia had *a four-week margin* of emergency rations, whereas the margin in Italy was under two weeks.

Robbing a hungry Peter to feed a starving Paul!

Chief reason for the inadequacy of the American share in this undertaking of mercy is that the administration is not leading the American people on this issue—

It is far behind them.

The Gallup poll has shown 65 percent of the nation ready to put up with less food for a year, if necessary, to feed Europe.

If the people are ready to do their part, why does the government hesitate to requisition the necessary food, and ration the remainder if necessary?

The reason publicly given is that there isn't time to ration food now; that the emergency will end before O.P.A. could do it.

We don't think much of that explanation. Most foods would not have to be coupon-rationed. They could be rationed by wholesalers and dealers, as many things are now.

For absolute essentials, there are still coupons left in the ration books housewives are using for sugar now!

But the main thing is that the government requisition essential foods and send them on.

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Once foods get into the channels of civilian supply it is next to impossible to pull them back and ship them to Europe.

The real reason for so much hesitation and duty-dodging in Washington:

Nineteen forty-six is a Congressional election year.

United States tradition is that nothing should be done to disturb anything in an election year. Make nobody mad. Stand pat.

The *Record* suggests that it will be the smartest possible politics for Congress, in 1946, to take all steps necessary—at once—to meet the food crisis in Europe.

—*The Philadelphia Record*

LEHMAN ASTRAY ON RATIONING

When Herbert H. Lehman tells what he has seen and learned about the food situation, we accept his statement of facts with confidence as that of a sincere and sensible man. But this does not apply to some of his rationalizations of causes or of methods he suggests.

His proposal that the United States return to food rationing as a means of securing the needed supplies is obviously subject to the charge of impracticality brought against it by Secretary of Agriculture Anderson.

It is not easy to follow Lehman when he says premature removal of rationing in the United States and certain other countries is responsible for the world-wide food crisis.

How has the removal of rationing in the United States affected the supplies of grains, fats and sugar, the three commodities most urgently called for to be sent abroad? The grains, flour, bread were not rationed in this country. Sugar is still rationed. Lehman's logic has no application to either of these. Rationing has been removed from fats, but this has not meant that more is being consumed here. If there was little fat under rationing, there is still less to be had in the market now.

All this makes one example among many of the confusion the American people suffer through the failure of their appointed experts to co-ordinate. Advance consultation between Lehman and the government heads who know most about food conditions and rationing in the United States—of whom Secretary Anderson is certainly one—should have prevented stirring up the people with an impractical proposal.

—*The San Francisco Chronicle*

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NEXT YEAR'S FOOD

It is true that the government's food conservation program is a short-range effort designed to alleviate distress during the next few months, until 1946 crops are harvested. Official emphasis on emergency relief needs does not, however, imply official ignorance of the existence of a long-range food problem. Nor is there are necessary conflict between the present emergency plan for increasing our food shipments abroad and the kind of long-range planning urged by Mr. Lehman.

The desperate plight of the world's starving people would be less desperate today if the United States and other food-exporting countries had been more fore-sighted.

It is essential, therefore, that we devise long-range plans for limiting domestic consumption and releasing a maximum amount of essential foods for relief purposes. Whether we should return to compulsory rationing of consumers or continue reliance on a combination of government controls and voluntary consumer rationing—these are questions of detail. Decisions may well depend on the success of our present experiment in voluntary controls. But over-all planning there must be on a nation-wide and international basis to prevent waste and insure use of foodstuffs in such ways as to save a maximum number of people from starvation.

Feeding the hungry, moreover, implies an obligation to do more than just save lives. We must aim to supply food enough to maintain health and restore working ability to the undernourished. Otherwise there will be no end to the demands on us for relief, because people will lack the strength to grow their own food, and to produce the machinery and tools needed to make them independent of outside aid.

—*The Washington Post*

NOT BY RATIONING

The recommendation of Herbert Lehman, formerly of U.N.R.R.A., that the rationing of foodstuffs be resumed is unsound.

The contention of Secretary of Agriculture Anderson that we can move more quickly and effectively by volunteer action is justified, we believe, by American experience.

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The food situation differs in major respects from that with which the nation was confronted early in the war. When foodstuffs were first rationed, there was need enormously to step up total food production both to meet the demands of our own armed forces, and to enable us to aid in the feeding of the armies of our allies. The requirements of the military for labor and material which, without government controls would have been employed in food production, created short supplies in such foodstuffs as dairy and meat products which could be distributed equitably only by rationing.

A third consideration differentiates the current food situation from that of wartime. It is the fact that with hostilities ended steps are well under way to bring back under cultivation enormous agricultural areas which for the last two years, at least, have produced little.

In this light the current emergency should be enormously alleviated as of the beginning of this year's harvests, whereas there was no way of forecasting in 1942 when the world's production of food would again become approximately normal.

Rationing and price control complement each other. If rationing is necessary to insure equitable distribution, government pricing also is in order. We argue that when the administration saw fit to remove all foodstuffs but sugar from the ration list it should have restored free pricing at the same time.

Thus instead of returning to rationing we believe the price controls on foods should be removed. Instead of moving back toward wartime controls we should proceed with decontrols, and rely upon the play of competitive forces both to step up production where more is required and to establish prices.

But without regard to the causes of the present food situation and its probable duration we are certain that the American public will not easily acquiesce in the rationing of simple foodstuffs including bread and flour. It will have to be shown, first, that adequate supplies cannot be provided by other means, now that the war is over, and that a heavy obligation devolves upon us to lower more or less permanently our living standard as regard a wide range of wood products.

—The Cleveland Plain Dealer

• Women in Weidener, Harvard Library, are strictly watched. Their activity is confined to the Radcliff study, a small room on the second floor. As we were quietly studying there recently, a white-haired scholar bristling with indignation entered.

"I have put up with this long enough!" she exclaimed. "I worked in the Vatican library in '37 and '38, and it does seem to me that, if the Vatican admits women freely, it's time Harvard changed its mind."

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Southward We Turn

Like fruit we need a sunnier sun
For ripening as we grow old.
The storm-delighting days are done
When we desired a colder cold.

Southward we turn, fleeing the snows.
But south and sun will keep us warm
Less than our love, our love for those
Who ask for north and love the storm.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

* * * *

And Took the Danger Dancing

That hot-cool-headed and light-footed boy
Who ran skipping over the topmost bank
Of oars of his father's trireme in my schooldays
Has been skipping in and out of my mind
For thirty years. Did he do it on a dare,
Or just for the wild and beautiful heck of it?
Whyever it was, he made the slashing blades
That could so easily have been his death
His drums and cymbals, and took the danger dancing.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

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Churchill proposed nothing new

Anglo-American Alliance

By Ernest K. Lindley

From his column in the Washington Post

DURING the war, Great Britain and the United States integrated their military efforts to a degree unprecedented among major allies in the history of warfare. This integration embraced strategic and tactical planning, the pooling of scientific and technical knowledge, the allocation of shipping, raw materials and war production; training in certain special fields, the sharing of various facilities, and actual fighting on the seas, in the air and on the ground. It was not perfect. There were continual disagreements and frictions. But the net result was a great deal more fighting power than the United States and Britain —plus Canada, Australia and New Zealand—could have produced if they had dealt with each other at arm's length.

The late Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox proposed, in effect, a permanent alliance of the two great seapowers—which are also the two great air powers. When asked about the future of this intimate wartime association, the late President Roosevelt said privately on more than one occasion that our first objective must be a world organization, but that within that an especially close relationship with the British Commonwealth would be both natural and proper. Former Secretary of State Hull, faced with the same question gave substantially the same answer.

Mr. Roosevelt continually taunted and prodded Mr. Churchill about British policy in India and in the colonies. He compelled Mr. Churchill's government to recognize China as one of the "Big Four." Yet he never lost sight of our strategic interest in Britain or the Commonwealth or of the fact that Mr. Churchill is a democrat, born and reared in a democratic nation and devoted to parliamentary institutions.

Mr. Churchill has proposed, in substance, that the close military association of the British Commonwealth and the United States, developed during the war, be preserved and extended. This special relationship, as he outlined it, would be within the United Nations and in support of the principles and purposes of the United Nations. It would be both more and less than a general alliance. It would be more than an alliance in that, like the wartime association, it would call for a closer interlocking of military programs than usually have been involved in alliances. It would be less than an alliance in that it would not bind the United States to support British policy at every turn. It

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would mean that when Britain and the United States agreed that action was necessary, in support of the principles and purposes of the United Nations, they could take it more promptly and effectively.

Mr. Churchill believes that the knowledge that Britain and the United States were prepared to act promptly and together would serve as a deterrent to violations of the principles and purposes of the United Nations. He believes that it would impress the Russians. Also it would impress other nations and democratic groups within nations which want to resist aggressive encroachments but which don't dare without some expectation of effective support.

The British-American wartime machinery was probably the most effective international machinery ever developed. No one regarded it then as contrary to the purposes of the Declaration of United Nations, which was the basic alliance embracing all nations which declared war on Germany or Japan. It did not compel us to agree with the British about everything. It certainly did not entail approval of British colonial policy.

The continuation of such a special military relationship would be entirely consistent with the United Nations, just as are our special arrangements with Canada and with our Latin-American neighbors. It would not compel us to support the British on every issue. It would be a threat to no nation or people which abide by the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

As to its effect on the Russians, only experience can show. Experience to date has indicated that the extremely generous concessions made to Russia, in the interests of her security and in the hope of allaying her suspicions, have led the Russians to believe that they can extract still more concessions and can even violate with impunity their previous pledges. Almost every American official who has dealt with the Russians during the last year or more has reluctantly come to the conclusion that firmness is necessary. The close coordination of British and American military power would be one very effective way of showing that we intend to be firm. It would be welcomed by most of the nations in the world whose hopes are pinned on the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

• "Winnie" missed the boat, again! It seems that the Missouri Society had planned to make Churchill an honorary member of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, but Gloria N. McAuslan, historian general, declined: "It is unfortunate that the line cannot be approved."

• A little girl was anxiously awaiting a visit from her favorite aunt when her mother showed her a telegram: "Missed train. Will start same time tomorrow."

"But, Mama," the child protested tearfully, "if Auntie starts the same time tomorrow, she'll miss the train again.'

—*Volta Review*

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

WHEN the first atomic bomb fell last August, the world was aghast at the revelation of the new power, for good or evil, that men had harnessed. Awful predictions were made of the future of civilization, and columnists filled their space with solacing hopes of peacetime uses of the new force. In the few months since, the hubbub has died down, but the scientists, unlike the general public, plead for immediate attention to the Frankenstein they have created.

Frankly, when you have read *One World—Or None* (Whittlesey House, $1.00), you will understand why, and you will wonder how long it will be before the worst is realized. Dexter Masters and Katherine Way are the editors; there are seventeen short chapters, most of them by scientists or physicists who had a part in the experimental work. It is no play on words to say these gentlemen are deadly serious. Possibly there is enough scientific data in the chapters to give everything but the formulae to professionals; for the average reader it is enough to get a vivid idea of the power generated by atomic disintegration.

To show graphically the results of the new bomb, Prof. Morrison of Cornell drops one figuratively at 20th Street and Third Avenue in New York City, and then relates the horrors that followed. Thereafter technical explanations are given which are enough to show the method by which the power is utilized in a bomb. For the lay reader it will be sufficient if he realizes these specialists are trying to say that this new weapon, unless quickly made the subject of international agreement, bids fair to destroy the earth as we know it. Anyone can grasp the meaning of Professor J. R. Oppenheimer's statement that atomic bombs are cheaper, ton for ton of damage result, than ordinary explosives; in other words, more destruction at lower cost.

Nor is there consolation in the chapter by Professor Louis N. Ridenour: the truth of the matter is there is no defense against the atomic bomb. There may be precautions and countermeasures, but the whole field is so new that adequate air defense will probably be impossible or prohibitive. If only ten per cent of such bombs get through to their targets, the targets will be destroyed. For another thing, there doesn't seem to be much doubt in the minds of these scientists that the time element hardly makes for complacency. Frederick Seitz, Jr., of Carnegie Institute of Technology and Hans Bethe, of Cornell, think

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the danger is close. The process of fission, which is the hub of the problem, was discovered in Germany in the winter of 1938-39; in a very few years the transition to success took place. It is therefore reasonable to assume that scientists of other nations can do as well. Apparently the Smyth report, which was broadcast, is helpful to those who still seek. Another few years, possibly six, may see the bomb in the hands of other nations.

This means an atomic arms race. Britain is certain to make and store them. Irving Langmuir of General Electric foresees their successful manufacture by Russia within three years, despite the opinion of General Groves that it would take 20 to 60 years. Langmuir, who visited Russia, makes a few comments aside from the scientific that are noteworthy. He emphasizes the need for mutual understanding with Russia, and remarks that while we don't like their controlled press and inspired public opinion, they don't like our strikes or our unemployment. They find much in our newspapers that is false; we find theirs official propaganda. One point is hard to deny; we want to pattern a rebuilt Japan after our democratic government; is it not therefore understandable that Russia wants the Balkan states, where her military strength turned the tables, patterned after her? We may not like it, but it is logical.

Professor Harold C. Urey, a Nobel Prize winner in chemistry, adds it all up to the most dangerous situation that humanity has ever faced, and he doesn't seem disposed to rely upon international inspections, which Leo Szilard, another of the uranium experts, believes may be utilized to prevent secret manufacture.

Walter Lippmann contributes a chapter to show the necessity for individual responsibility, instead of the responsibility of nations. In plain language that means a war criminal would be tried for his personal acts; the present Nuremberg trials point the way. If under the United Nations the rights and duties of all individuals, as well as of states, are prescribed, then all will be bound by law. This means the end of absolute sovereignty of a state, in favor of universal sovereignty; and this Lippmann believes can happen, and should, if the United States leads the way. Our problem would then be solved, and the urgent need for the solution may drive nations into a world state without delay.

The one striking thing is the insistence that survival of the human race is at stake, and that time is short. If it is as urgent as that, our Congress should act quickly. The cynic would say that of itself would require an atomic bomb.

BRIEFER COMMENT

CURRENT AFFAIRS

For those who wish a more detailed exposition of the need for one world, *Political Reconstruction,* by Karl Loewenstein, (Macmillan,

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$4.00), is recommended. Dr. Loewenstein goes into past history to show the results of a policy of international non-interference in the internal affairs of a nation. A continuation of this policy, he believes, is a sure route to the next world war; here is the same plea for a world body, or at least an end of internal sovereignty.

Frank Gervasi has an interesting story to tell in *To Whom Palestine?* (D. Appleton-Century, $2.50). He analyzes the problems of the Arabs and the Jews and the political needs of the overlords—the British. His finding, in brief, favors the Jew, principally because the Jew has shown the ability to lift the desert country into the modern age. He thinks that Arab and Jew, left to themselves, can live side by side. All this seems consistent, but when Gervasi recites the story of the oil situation, a whole flock of ideas come to mind. He is certain that much of the anti-Jewish agitation is traceable to Britain's desire to stop American exploitation of oil reserves in the Middle East, manipulated through support of the Arabs. In short, the situation seems to smell of oil; and here is where British and Russian ideas clash. Right now it is Iran. Gervasi of course is an expert at "popular" writing; maybe he overdoes it, but his book seems to raise a few questions that might well be asked by the millions who may be called upon again to furnish cannon fodder—for someone's oil investments? For some nation's political ambitions?

In keeping with the foregoing is *The Story of the Jewish Legion,* by Vladimir Jabotinsky (Ackerman, $3.00), which is a story of the first World War. The formation of a Jewish corps (under the British flag) and its efforts in the Middle East are explained by the now deceased founder of the Legion. Of particular interest is the mention of some of the inner politics of British statesmen, which dovetails nicely into the indictments made by Gervasi in his book.

BIOGRAPHY

If ever an editor became a part of his locality and his era, it was William Allen White. For many years he was quoted and consulted in the field of printer's ink and in the world of politics. His much beloved character is shown in *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (Macmillan, $3.75). The later part of his career is summarized by his son, W. L. White, to complete the story after his father's death. The book is naturally a part of America, or at least of its Middle West during the years from 1868 on. There were Whites in America three hundred years ago, but W. A. W. covers them sketchingly; he seem to have no desire to build on the bones of his ancestors. Since this is his autobiography, you have to take his likes and dislikes as he found them; his loyalty to political friends, presidents and senators to whom history has been a little less kind and more critical. But it is still the story of White's world and *The Emporia Gazette;* it is good biography and delightful reading.

Not the first biography of world war generals, and surely not the last,

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General George S. Patton. Man Under Mars, by James Wellard, (Dodd, Mead, $3.00), may prove to be one of the best. Frankly, I like it, if for no other reason than that the General is not made a saint, a paper hero or even a military genius free from error. Wellard makes his biography of Patton the story chiefly of the Third Army, and through the men and their missions reflects the general over them. Grant that Patton's creed was not unlike that of the best German tradition—war for war's sake—and some of the criticism directed against him can be understood in the light of his being an old-fashioned warrior. Luckily for us, he was unpredictable ad indefatigable. This volume gives a kaleidoscopic view of Patton's campaigns, observer's comments on possible mistakes, and measured praise where due. It is dispassionately written, but lively reading.

AFTER THE WAR

Battle Report. The Atlantic War. Prepared from Official Sources by Commander Walter Karig, Lt. Earl Burton and Lt. Stephen L. Freeland, all U.S.N.R., (Farrar & Rinehart, $3.50), is the narrative of the Navy's part in the Atlantic war, from neutrality patrol days up to the crossing of the Rhine in 1945. Operations in the Arctic zone, the African invasion, the Mediterranean and of course the Normandy invasion saga are well covered, with maps and photographs to make it a lucid volume. It comes close to being official history, given personality by inclusion of numerous minor incidents of unusual or heroic aspect.

The technicalities of field operating rooms and makeshift hospital units will not be too obvious to the reader of *Burma Surgeon Returns,* by Gordon S. Seagrave, M. D. (Norton, $3.00). It is not necessary that they should be, although they add to the record of heroic men and women in Burma. Of much greater value is the modest but competent description of life among the American and Chinese forces, punctuated by incidents and personalities facing death or injury in traditional medic fashion. It is a book about real people, told without, reticence, as it should be for its topic, and fascinating war or no war.

GENERAL INTEREST

Mary R. Beard chooses an appropriate time to discuss *Women as Force in History* (Macmillan, $3.50), for in the recent war women had their own organizations, some even in combat. Mrs. Beard goes back to ancient history to trace the part played by the "weaker" sex. It is natural for her to select from history suitable material for this study, since she is the distaff member of "The Beards." While the volume is serious handling of the topic, it is made into a story that is fascinating for male and female readers.

Noteworthy about *My Africa,* by Mbonu Ojike (John Day, $3.75), is the fact that it is somewhat of a success story. The author started life in Nigeria, the son of a typical African family. Emigrated to America and educated here, he gives a detailed description of native life

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as he knew it, and of course outlines Africa's hopes for real freedom, her present problems and her future.

In 1936 Eslanda Goode Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, took their son on a visit to Africa as an anthropologist seeking information at first hand. The results are excellently recorded in *African Journey* (John Day, $3.50), not only because it is well written but also because of the notations of the small things and unimportant people which serve to make up humanity.

The magic in the word voodoo, and the magic in the cult, furnish some weird and some salty reading as recorded in *Voodoo in New Orleans,* by Robert Tallant, (Macmillan, $2.50). Tallant places the beginnings of voodoo in the early 1700's, when African slaves were brought to the New World. There is of course some sameness to the many exploits, but on the whole there is enough to keep you interested, even if somewhat sceptical.

Cloak and Dagger, by Corey Ford and Alastair MacBain (Random House, $2.50), is the secret story of the Office of Strategic Services. Whether it is too late to get excited over O.S.S. or whether the book is overenthusiastic in its praises of our super-mystery men, it fails to raise one's temperature. Some of the tales are awfully good; some of the obesiances to the brass and the administration smack of official handouts.

FICTION

In the Blazing Light by Max White, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.75), is the robust story of Francisco Goya, artist and lover, less about his painting and more about his women and his journey up the ladder.

A background of the war, and its effect on a group in England, makes *The Single Pilgrim,* by Mary Roland (Crowell, $2.50), a book with a purpose; frank discussion of syphilis. The story itself is simple; it seems to me *The Green Hat of Yesteryear* had the same basis. As a novel it is a trifle obvious, but as a message it has merit.

My Lady of Cleves, by Margaret Campbell Barnes, (Macrae-Smith, $2.75), is the story of Henry VIII's fourth wife, Anne of Cleves. It is a picture of the English Court, Bluff King Hal, and Hans Holbein acting somewhat as the god in the machine. The characters seem to move like automatons, and the conversation is far from sparkling.

Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein has his own version of the trial and crucifixion of Christ, and he delineates the reprecussions of that tragedy by their effects on a Roman centurion. *The Lance of Longinus* (Macmillan, $2.00), is the most recent version, told from the historical angle of dissension among the Jews, conflict with the Roman law and the indecision of Pilate.

• A tipsy sailor confided to Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, newly-appointed ambassador to the United States: "I don't know (the ambassador), but he looks like a jerk to me. What do you think?"

"Emphatically! Emphatically a jerk!" replied Sir Archibald. (Fraternal association?)

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

April is, as a rule, the cruelest month not only for T. S. Eliot but for a dramatic critic. He can report very little to support the chief article in his faith, namely that the theatre is an ever-renewing experience. All that he can report at the moment is that a series of productions came and went or are likely to vanish very soon; and, since the incompetences of the theatre are always conspicuous, his emotions are likely to range from embarrassment to despair.

Among the most recent productions *Three To Get Ready,* a lavish musical revue by Nancy Hamilton, is thriving on Broadway, thanks to the presence of Ray Bolger whose numbers "The Old Soft Shoe," "If It's Love" and "The Sad Sack" provide new evidence of his extraordinary dancing talent. Brenda Forbes, an excellent comedienne, adds savor with "The Story of the Opera," a parody on the Wagnerian Ring Cycle. There is also a pretty song, "Barnaby Beach," for the cash customers. The rest of the production is hollow fare consisting of a goulash of skits that are conducive to indigestion, hard-tack in the form of the dreariest master-of-ceremonies narration this side of radio, and some soufflé of music which leave much to be desired. The *pièce de résistance,* moreover, is a parody on *Oklahoma* and *Carousel* that is interminable and unfunny.

There is something to be said for musical revue as a form of entertainment—a great deal, in fact. The variety show has often been a testing ground for talent. (Rodgers and Hart, for instance, got their first professional accolade in the Theatre Guild's *Garrick Gayeties* two decades ago). It also affords unusual opportunities for the exercise of fugitive satire. Unfortunately, triumphs in the field have been too few and too far between. There has been nothing in recent years to compare with the *Garrick Gayeties,* the *Neighborhood Playhouse Gayeties, As Thousands Cheer,* and the International Ladies' Garments Workers Union's *Pins and Needles.* If a truly effective musical revue is to eventuate shortly, it will come from the young militant political group that crops up now and then off Broadway under the name of *Stage for Action.*

This is not so much a prediction as a way of saying that a musical revue needs vitality and is likely to derive it only from energetic groups that look at the world with a fresh viewpoint. Revues that are put on solely for profit and are invested with all the tinsel of Broadway tend

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to be jaded and decadent. Their liveliness is Stork Club skittishness, and it is generally elephantine; they lack the ferment of real improvisation. That is why the musical revue needs to be rejuvenated at least every five years. Its essence cannot be squeezed out of an intention to be youthful when one is middle-aged in fact or disposition, to be playful when one is calculating, to be irreverrent when one acually accepts or lives the conventions of the staid world of commercial society and theatre. This becomes easily apparent in any comparison between the trade union boy-and-girl buoyancy of *Pins and Needles* and the social register or at best Junior League character of *Three to Make Ready*.

Very much the same suspicion of decadence occurs in connection with the latest Broadway melodrama, Marie Baumer's *Little Brown Jug*, a generally mild psychological thriller in which a neurotic tramp or hired man blackmails two women into taking them into their home after one of them accidentally causes the death of her worthless son-in-law. Only the timely intervention of the dead man's intelligent brother, excellently played by Arthur Margetson, frees them from this Yankee incubus, who is none other than the able Percy Kilbride in the production. Why this story should be so tepid on the stage is superficially a problem in dramaturgy and production, both of which were transparently faulty. There was no inevitability in the events, no inevitability derived from either the situation or the characters. There was no reason for considering the son-in-law's accidental fall from a window, after the mother-in-law slapped him, as a situation fraught with real danger for the woman and her daughter. Since this was a pseudo-situation, the play that stemmed from it could not produce a menacing and suspensive experience. It was equivalent to stuffing a fourteen-inch gun with cotton wadding. There was also no reason for the women to have allowed themselves to be intimidated by the old tramp for more than a split second. The fact that they were continually quaking before his threats dissipated the tension; it was also far too easy to dismiss them as addle-pated.

The Percy Kilbride role, performed with virtuosity of underplaying, also fell short of dynamics. It was simply incredible that he should have represented a real threat when he was so naive as to show all his cards to his victims. It may be noted further that the play suffered from an improper admixture of humor and melodrama, with each stepping on the other's toes, so that neither the humor nor the melodrama could exert a maximal effect, and the action after the first scene was staged with such distances between the characters that the tension between them was as slack as a dangling telephone wire. Why living rooms should be a mile long on the Broadway stage eludes this reviewer. It may make for better sight-lines, but it also requires putting the actors on roller skates to enable them to execute their necessary movements, if they are to keep the audience awake.

Before dismissing *The Little*

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Brown Jug it is pertinent, however, to ask why stage melodrama has lost its pristine vigor. With the exception of *Angel Street* and *Ladies in Retirement,* there has been no completely successful straight melodrama on Broadway for a good many years. (Another exception is, of course, *Arsenic and Old Lace,* but this does not fall within the "thriller" classification.) One answer is that the ancient melodramatic devices which kept the public on tenterhooks have fallen into desuetude; they are no longer taken seriously by the theatre's preternaturally alert public, which detects their factitiousness and greets them with laughter. The old tricks succeed, as a rule, only in motion pictures purveyed to a comparatively unsophisticated public with the assistance of ingenious photography and of the expeditious camera, which glides over the clichés instead of staying with them until they are totally transparent. The theatre, it is true, has tried to circumvent the old situations; it has wooed psychoanalysis, as in *The Secret Room;* and it has tried to transmute macabre content into comedy, as in *Arsenic and Old Lace* and *Mr. & Mrs. North.* Generally, the results have been meager, and it may well be that the stage will have to defer to the screen in this form of showmanship. The superior quality of such motion pictures as *Spellbound, Double Indemnity* and *Laura* cannot be matched by the theatre's visual resources. The exception may very well come in the field of melodramatic comedy; it is noteworthy that *Arsenic and Old Lace* was less successful as a film than as a play, probably because the less sophisticated screen public cannot respond to a casual and amused attitude toward murder.

A. B. Shiffrin's *I Like It Here* was a pleasant enough little comedy for one act. That it could not sustain an evening, in spite of the presence of the admirable Oscar Karlweis in the cast, was the result of a slender story divisively treated by the author. Director Charles K. Freeman struggled valiantly to fill the gaps in story-telling and succeeded only when Karlweis was onstage. He might have succeeded more frequently if he had been more fortunate in his choice of a supporting cast. Only the veterans, Bert Lytell and Seth Arnold, came up to par. The trouble with the play was that it did not sustain its title, which suggests the efforts of a Karlweis refugee character to root himself in America. He was merely allowed to function as a Mr. Fix-It in the domestic imbroglio of a henpecked professor's family, to grease the road of true love, and to put the domineering wife in her proper place. This, presumably was the doghouse, from which the professor recovers his Great Dane in a triumphant finish which finds him emboldened enough to run for Congress and keep his canine pet at home.

Failure also attended *Flamingo Road,* an ineffectual dramatization of a potent novel by Robert Wilder. Here satire on Southern politics was restricted to a sheriff, supposedly a menace but actually a clown, and to political analysis that was confusing and ineffectual. A moving story could have been developed from the

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efforts of a persecuted girl to defy a narrow-minded community and a local dictator. Here and there notably in a prison and a bordello. her drama struck a spark. But the sparks were never fanned into a flame because of inconsequent playwriting topped by a facile conclusion in which the harrased heroine shoots the sheriff, whose motives in persecuting her are for the most part circumstantial.

An expedient appraisal of plays such as we have discussed is to say that they have too little substance—that they are lacking in the substance of both theatre and life. That was not always fatal to plays; it is still not fatal in small communities where production costs and theatre tickets are inexpensive, and when rental clauses do not compel the closing of plays whenever the weekly gross is less than ten or twelve thousand dollars. A fragile piece like *I Like It Here* would probably seem less hopeless in, let us say, Pasadena, and its Dublin equivalent has appeared at the Abbey Theatre more than once without drawing crtical thunder. The English theatres outside London have played host to many melodrama no more weighty than *The Little Brown Jug*. The substance required of Broadway plays is partly an economic requiremtnt. It is also a cosmopolitan requirement. In another sense, it is also the challenge of distinguished theatre, and it is a compliment to the public and the dramatic critics that they press this challenge.

Substance has been supplied to a degree by the Theatre Guild's revival of Leonic Andreyev's *He who Gets Slapped*. This Slavic circus drama of the first decade of our century, successfully introduced to the American public by the same organization in the early 'twenties, is redolent of modernism. This was the May-time of Gordon Craig, Max Reinhardt, and "symbolism." Andreyev's play evokes the exotic life of a circus with its clowns, and it makes brave demands upon the collective theatre arts; it utilizes to the full the theatricality of the theatre. It provides relief from the staid and essentially anti-theatrical sway of realism, which has been the dominant convention of our post-Ibsen stage. It restores to the theatre the prerogative of being itself.

Manifestly, *He Who Gets Slapped* also claims substance on the level of human experience and universal meaning. A distinguished man has been so deeply hurt by the defection of his wife and his friend, who has also stolen his ideas, that he annihilates his identity by joining a circus. And in becoming the clown who gets slapped, he only confirms his nihilism; that the public should take pleasure in watching his humiliation renews his contempt for humanity. He had worked creatively, he had loved a woman, he had confided in a friend; he had started with fundamental affirmations. Now he has sunk to the nadir of pessimism and negation, he hopes to obliterate all vestiges of feeling and to sever all ties with mankind. But the circus is only a microcosm, and he soon finds there the same realities of desire and suffering he encountered in the outside world; the some bartering of souls, when he sees a childish

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bareback rider being sold to a rich baron by a seedy old aristocrat who claims to be her father. The clown's armor is pierced by love and pity for the helpless girl. He can feel and suffer again; so much so that at the end he poisons her to save her from misery, following which he kills himself. This is his resurrection, and so the play makes a double claim upon out interest, as realism with its slice of life, and as symbolism with its implied story of a man's spiritual death and resurrection.

He Who Gets Slapped has a fascination that should not be underestimated. It belongs to the creative theatre, even if there will always be two schools of thought concerning it. And yet it is difficult to be entirely satisfied with either the play or its present production, and it is too easy to brush it off as a pretentious and garish anomaly. The blame devolves in the first instance upon the author himself; he was guilty of too many hollow gestures toward profundity, as when he makes his female lion-tamer complain that her lions do not love her, or when he makes Consuela, the bareback rider, so flagrently simple-minded that she isn't worth making such a fuss over or must be considered symbolically as "unawakened nature" or some such sophomoric concept. There was indeed a great deal of the sempiternal sophomore in Andreyev himself.

The present production is a British adaptation by Judith Guthrie, the wife of the director of the show, Tyrone Guthrie, erstwhile of the Old Vic. The adaptation is not particularly adept; it muddles the symbolism without clarifying the reality. The new Theatre Guild production is most charmingly played by a petite newcomer, Susan Douglas; as the hero of the piece, Dennis King is excellent at the beginning and has his moments later on; the veteran Reinhold Schunzel turns out a remarkable performance as the baronial suitor, and John Abbott a virtuoso one as the down-at-heels, fussy Count Mancini. Nevertheless, the whole, in the case of this production, is not the sum of its good parts. There are too many weak parts in the casting. Above all, Mr. Guthrie's expansive and garish production simply submerges both the human story and the possible symbolism. He has thrown a circus and not a drama on the stage. No wonder that many critics and theatregoers have left the performance with a sense of having been fatigued rather than stirred or stimulated. A riot of fragmentary situations can only create confusion.

The simplest production would have been the best. Expressive simplicity is what the early art theatre sought and captured. Mr. Guthrie and the Theatre Guild have succumbed to the prevailing elephantiasis of Hollywood taste, which is also the taste of brash Broadway commercialism—no taste at all. A common enough disease, the cure for which is a new orientation! It is not likely to come from the old guard. And an *avant garde* has not yet moved over the horizon. The only glimmer I have discerned is the single instance of a truly engaging, vernal production of *Twelfth Night* at the Dramatic Workshop.

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The International Scene

Echoes from a past generation resounded in Geneva as Dr. Carl Hambro of Norway, President, opened the final session of the League of Nations Assembly. It was April 8, 1946; the League had not convened since December 14, 1939. And in those intervening years, it had become an archaic organization. Many empty seats faced Dr. Hambro as he called the meeting to order. In a final display of life, Argentina stomped out and Austria asked to be seated. But the funeral service proceeded as scheduled. The "burial" was dedicated to the success of the United Nations: "all our enduring assets—moral and material—the accumulated, imponderable experience of 25 years" would be transferred to the new peace organization. Thus the once-hopeful League of Nations, after years of painful futility, passed into oblivion.

The new peace organization, meanwhile, strained under the energies of its members.

BOUT IN THE GYM

After two weeks of strenuous preparation, the main gymnasium of the Bronx Center of Hunter College was ready for the Security Council. The rose and buff draperies and paneled walls were to witness tense international drama. The individual microphones on the curved mahogany desk were to carry the proceedings to millions of people in distant lands. Opposite the seats for the 11 members of the Council were batteries of television, motion picture and still cameras, again for the enlightment of the public. Another unusual feature was to be the work of four men who could pour out interpreted versions of English, French, Russian and Spanish oratory before the words of the original speaker died away. Hunter alumnae would have scarcely recognized the setting.

Promptly at 2:30 on March 25 (the Soviet Union had requested postponement until April 10), Dr. Quo Tai-chi of China opened the session of the Security Council and together with his companions listened to the welcoming speeches. On both sides of him sat the men who were to play leading roles: James F. Byrnes (assisted by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.) from the United States; Andrei A. Gromyko from the Soviet Union; Sir Alexander George Montague Cadogan from the United Kingdom; Henri Bonnet from France; Dr. Eelco Nicholas van Kleffens from the Netherlands; Dr. Oscar Lange from Poland; Lieutenant Colonel W. R. Hodgson from Australia; Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera from Mexico; Dr. Pedro L. Velloso from Brazil; and Mahmoud Hassan Pasha from Egypt. At one end of the table sat Hussein Ala from Iran, chief witness.

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The Iran-Soviet conflict came into play early in the proceedings. Mr. Gromyko sought to delete the question from the agenda but was defeated 9 to 2. Then he tried to have the discussions delayed; "I propose that the Security Council postpone its consideration of the declaration made by the Iranian Ambassador . . . until the 10th of April . . ." But he gained little headway. The climax came on March 27 when a vote was taken on the Soviet proposal. Only the Polish and Soviet delegates voted in the affirmative. Fifteen minutes later, Mr. Gromyko rose and said: "For reasons which I explained clearly enough . . . I, as representative of the Soviet Union, am not able to participate further in the discussion of the Security Council because my proposal has not been accepted by the Council and I therefore leave the meeting." So saying he folded up his glasses took up his papers and walked out of the room. With sinking hearts the other members continued their business and heard the Ambassador from Iran testify that no agreement had been reached with the Soviet Union.

Desiring further clarification, however, the Council sent urgent in-

Hutton in The Philadelphia Inquirer

"AND THEN TO REPORT TO THE U. N. ON THE LAMB-CHOP SITUATION"

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quiries to Teheran and Moscow for information on the present state of negotiations and the possible existence of a secret agreement between them on the withdrawal of the Red Army. On April 3 the replies came through as requested. The Rusian note re-affirmed the earlier (March 24) Soviet statement that Red Army troops would be out of Iran by early May and added that no conditions had been imposed upon Iran. The Iranian reply differed. The message stated that when the Russians discussed the removal of their troops, they had also sought political autonomy for Azerbaijan, where pro-Soviet troops began a "separatist" movement last fall. Hussein Ala added, when questioned by Secretary of State Byrnes, that Iran would not press the matter further "at this time" if the Soviet government would guarantee the withdrawal of her troops by May 6 at the latest. The next day the Council passed a resolution accepting Russia's assurances that her troops would withdraw unconditionally by the above date.

After his 13-day boycott, Mr. Gromyko returned to the folds of the gymnasium on April 8 and protested that the decision of the Council to retain jurisdiction over the Iran case until May 6 was illegal. But he was not expected to walk out again. On the contrary Mr. Gromyko was released from his post as Russian Ambassador to the United States so that he could devote his full time to the United Nations Security Council. Nikolai V. Novikov succeeds him as Soviet Ambassador.

OIL FOR THE LAMPS OF MOSCOW

While the Security Council debated the Iranian question in New York, Premier Ahmad Ghavam and Soviet Ambassador Ivan Sadchikov negotiated in Teheran. At 4 A.M. on April 5 they issued a joint communiqué stating that complete agreement had been reached. Unconditional evacuation of Russian forces from Iran would be completed within six weeks after March 24. Moscow recognized the question of Azerbaijan as a "purely internal affair" to be settled between Teheran and Azerbaijan. The treaty provided, further, that a joint Russo-Iranian oil company to exploit undeveloped petroleum resources in northern Iran would be established. This last provision must be ratified by the Majlis (Iranian parliament).

Thus the Soviet Union came down to bare facts—oil. The world's second largest producer of petroleum, that country desires the oil reserve that the strategic section of Iran will provide. Under the new arrangement, which is to be effective for 50 years, Russia will hold 51 per cent of the shares and Iran 49 per cent for the first 25 years after which it will be a 50-50 proposition. As Premier Ghavam says, Iran will provide the oil and soil; the Soviet Union the machinery and technicians.

Other U.N. developments: Poland has filed formal charges with the Security Council asserting that Franco's government had already caused international friction, endangered international peace and security and was promoting "scientific research by German scientists engaged in devising new means of warfare" . . . Secretary General Trygve Lie chose the New

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York City Building of the World's Fair site in Flushing, Long Island, for the interim location of the General Assembly. The Secretariat and the Security Council are to be located at the Sperry Company Plant at Lake Success, Nassau County, also Long Island.

TIES THAT BIND

France is a firm believer in entangling alliances. After World I, she built up a circle of pacts designed to protect her security over and above the League of Nations: Belgium (1920), Poland (1921), Great Britain (1922), Czechoslovakia (1924), the Locarno Pacts (1925), Rumania (1926), Yugoslavia (1927), the Soviet Union (1932, 1935) and Italy (1935). But one by one Hitler invalidated these treaties so that by June, 1940, France stood, for the most part, stripped of her precious security.

Now after World War II France again looks to traditional security in world affairs. Despite the United Nations, she has again turned to bilateral treaties for added protection. On December 10, 1945, a pact of alliance and mutual assistance was concluded with the Soviet Union. Seeking further re-assurance in eastern Europe, the Quai d'Orsay now contemplates a treaty with Poland. A joint declaration of the French and Polish governments resolving to face their problems regarding Germany together was expected soon after the middle of April. This declaration may be transformed into a treaty of alliance, but only after Poland's western boundary has been formally determined.

In the west, France has eyes on Great Britain. One important stumbling block prevents harmony here: namely, the thorny problem of the Ruhr and the Rhineland. Most of the French endorse the De Gaulle objective in this respect. This calls for the decentralization of the German administrative system, international supervision of the industrial Ruhr and detachment from Germany of the Rhineland and the Saar Basin. President Félix Gouin differed slightly. In a speech given on March 24 at Strasbourg, M. Gouin opposed "annexation whether brutal or disguised" and urged *international control of the areas in question, rather than political* "detachment." His colleagues objected to the pro-British gesture and the Popular Republicans, headed by Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, threatened to leave the coalition government. The Cabinet backed De Gaulle's policy. In spite of the minor political crisis, however, a compromise seems in the offing. Bidault has long been a champion of close relations with Britain and his Popular Republicans, along with other factions, show a willingness to abandon De Gaulle's aim in behalf of a treaty with Great Britain.

FORGIVE AND FORGET

From both ends the strained United States—Argentine relations were eased. On March 29, a day after the confirmation of Juan D. Perón's election to the presidency, Argentina denied all charges contained in the Blue Book recently released by the United States. Moreover, the Buenos Aires government added; "Argentina does not aspire to any American hegemony nor to the formation of regional blocs of nations of any kind . . ."

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But in the main part of the 50-page document, a friendly hand was extended to the north. Argentina appealed to the United States not to prolong or intensify the crisis growing out of the American charges and hinted of a desire to make peace with Washington.

The United States expressed a similiar conciliatory attitude. On April 8, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes issued a statement saying that the United States was now prepared to participate with Argentina in a hemispheric defense treaty, provided that Perón's government carries out its obligations to eliminate the "Axis influences" that threaten the security of the inter-American system. He announced, further, that a majority of the American Republics favored the drawing up of an all-inclusive defense plan to be signed when and if the Argentine government showed a willingness to carry out her commitments. A few days later the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union adopted a resolution (offered by Spruille Braden of the United States) to appoint a drafting committee to reconcile various treaty proposals now before it. All of which shows once again, that, where there is a will, there is a way.

"WHILE SHEPHERDS WATCHED . . ."

It was the first election Greece had had in ten years. Observers from the United States, Great Britain and France were on hand, at Premier Sophoulis' invitation to see that the election was "free and unfettered." Across the Black Sea, the Russians underscored their refusal to send observers by denouncing the idea of holding any election at this time.

Only a year before the supporters of the newly returned Greek government and the leftist E.A.M. had been locked in civil war. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, with the assistance of the British troops, had arranged a truce. Countering leftist charges that Great Britain wanted to maintain a strategic outpost in the eastern Mediterranean, Churchill had proposed that the Greeks be assured of an opportunity to select whatever form of government they wanted in a free election. The result: a compromise. A coalition government under Archbishop Damaskinos as Regent had been formed.

Few of the Greeks who participated and few of the 1200 foreigners observing doubted the outcome of the election of March 31. The leftists sensed their impotence and boycotted the election, claiming, meanwhile, that it had been "rigged" for a conservative victory. "Rigged" or otherwise, their opponents won. With less than 50 per cent of the registered voters exercising their privilege, the election of the 350 Deputies to Parliament resulted in a limited victory for the predominantly royalist Populists. On April 8, King George II, temporarily of London, accepted the resignation of Archbishop Damaskinos and indicated that a new Regent would be chosen by the new government.

The election pointed to an early restoration of the monarchy. The Regent, Damaskinos or his successor, will stay in office until a national

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referendum on the issue can be held. The British government officially favors the postponement of such a plebiscite until Greece enjoys political stability, but King George is getting impatient.

WHAT PRICE FOLLY?

In Germany one-fourth of the displaced children have tuberculosis and more than half of them are suffering rickets and/or measles. The people of Hungary and Bulgaria face starvation with bread rations there cut to a bare five ounces daily. Only great imports of food keep the people of Poland, Finland, Yugoslavia and Italy alive. Peasants in China are forced to eat grass, bark and mud for sustenance. Authorities in India predict that from five to ten million people will starve unless at least 4,000,000 tons of food are shipped into India.

Such are the conditions in Europe and Asia—conditions which play havoc with the restoration of political stability. The possibility of mass starvation looms threateningly as a perplexed world wonders what to do.

For two weeks, comfortably situated in Atlantic City, the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration studied the food crisis which concerns some 500,000,000 people. On March 28, a rigorous food-saving program was adopted and progress was made toward the amelioration of famine conditions. Fiery Fiorello H. LaGuardia replaced retiring Herbert H. Lehman as director general of U.N.R.R.A. With enthusiasm New York's former mayor took over his duties: "From this point on, the protocol is off . . . Wheat has no political complexion . . . Our job is to take food where we can find it and bring it to people who are in need . . . ticker tape ain't spaghetti . . ."

Reminiscent of this time last war, former President Herbert Hoover is touring hungry Europe. In his C-54 transport plane, he has visited Rome, Paris, Prague and Warsaw to study the food needs of Europe for President Truman's Emergency Famine Board. Calling for a new and more effective international organization to mobilize the world's food resources, Mr. Hoover commented, "If overseas supplies were to stop for a month . . . there would be wholesale loss of life . . ."

Pope Pius XII added his appeal. In an address on April 4, he declared that "a small, scarcely noticeable rationing in the better supplied countries" would bring great relief to stricken areas. He warned, further, that there might be uprisings because of hunger.

Meanwhile representatives of 18 nations are meeting in London in an emergency conference on European cereal supplies. The United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization announced in Washington that world food officials will meet on May 20 to formulate longe-range food plans. In his Army Day speech, President Truman spoke for the Land of Plenty; "Food is Europe's most critical need . . . No worthy American will hesitate to reduce his own consumption of food when the food so released will avert starvation abroad."

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BY THE PEOPLE

The Japanese voters went to the polls on April 10 to determine the nature of the government which faces the tasks of democratizing the country and saving it from economic ruin. The election was the first since the Tojo-sponsored one in 1942 and the first parliamentary one since 1932. Since the voting age was lowered from 25 to 21 and sufferage extended to women, the electorate had been increased to 36,000,000 from the pre-war 14,000,000.

Two days later it seemed evident that the conservative parties had emerged victorious, a fact which proved disappointing to those who believed that Japan was ready to turn left-wing. The country can now be assured of a government which will preserve property rights, support the Emperor and cooperate with the United States and Great Britain on the reconstruction of the Far East, without compulsion. Two interesting factors came to light in the election: the power of the Japanese women in the future politics of Japan and the tremendous, unpredicted power of the Socialist party.

CEASE FIRE?

Despite the truce of January 10, the political situation in China is far from quiet. Hostilities continue to spread in Manchuria with few indications of any immediate improvement. On the one hand, the Kuomintang bases its military activities in Manchuria on the Chinese-Soviet treaty, under which Russia was to transfer her authority to the Central government. The January truce, argues the Kuomintang further, states that Kuomintang-Communists hostilities were to cease and troop movements stop, with a few exceptions. One of these was the right of the Nationalists to move into or within Manchuria "for purposes of restoring Chinese sovereignty." No mention is made of Communist troops in this respect. On the other hand, the Communists charge that the present conflicts result from the attacks of the Nationalists in violation of the cease-fire agreement. Further they object to the policy of the government; to complete the "taking over" in Manchuria before settling the broader problem of the Communists political and military position in Manchuria.

The Domestic Scene

"We are over the hump of reconversion."

These optimistic words of President Truman marked a fitting end to his first year in the Chief Executive's seat. The man who never wanted to be president turned in a good report of his year's work. Both sides of the ledger were crowded, but most observers felt that the record on the whole could be written in black. Mistakes there were in full measure, but it would appear that one can only learn to be a good president by on-the-job training. The apprentice, who at times made known his dislikes of the job, has graduated, and recently has had occasion to say that he is beginning to like his trade.

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WE'RE ON OUR WAY

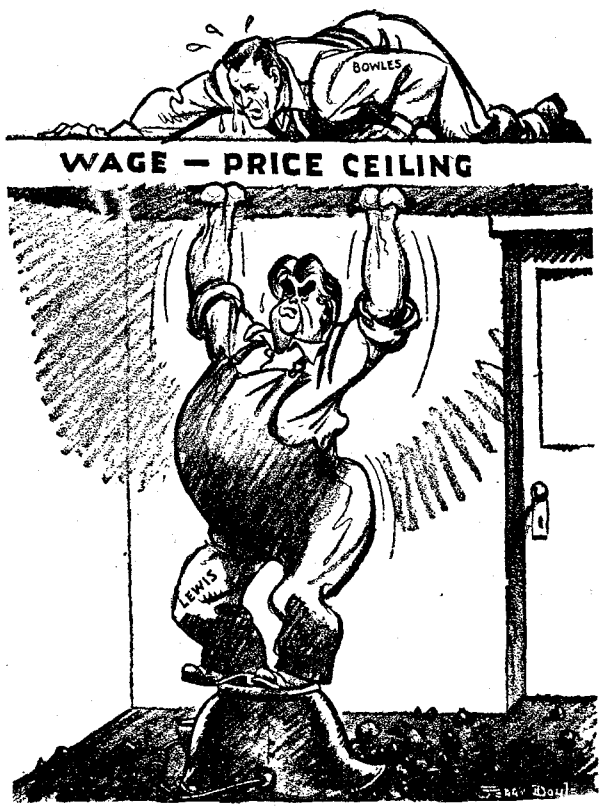
The President's good spirits on reconversion were based on two reports, one made by John Snyder, War Mobilization and Reconversion chief, and the other released by the Federal Reserve Board.

The reports revealed that in the first three months of 1946 there was a record-breaking volume of industrial output of $37 billion and that if the present rate is maintained, the production of civilian goods and services for the year will be $150 billion—18 per cent more than on V-J Day and 26 per cent more than in 1939.

Non-agricultural employment now stands at 45,000,000, slightly more than it was on V-J Day. Unemployment is estimated at about 3,000,000.

Wages and salaries, which fell to an annual rate of $75 billion after the surrender of Japan, are now back at the war-time level of $82 billion.

The reports also indicate the spendable income after taxes in 1946 will be $140 billion, which is $49 billion more than it was in 1939.



Jerry Doyle in the Philadelphia Record

"OUT RAISE THE ROOF"

SPRING VACATION

Yet the President warned that all was not sweetness and light. The biggest headache to administration leaders and the nation as a whole was the soft coal strike, which could be a knockout blow to the whole reconversion program.

Atomic energy may be in the offing, but the nation's industry still had to struggle with things as they are, not as they will be 20 years hence. And at present the hard fact is that soft coal is the *sine quo non* for 62 per

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cent of the nation's electricity power, for 55 per cent of its mechanical power and for 95 per cent of its locomotive power. It is from soft coal that the steel industry gets its vital coke, and after two weeks of the coal strike, steel plants, just recently opened by the end of the steel strike, once again started to bank their furnaces. And without steel, the necessary ingredient for four out of ten manufactured items, the reconversion program marks time.

Yet let no one be fooled into calling the April 1 walkout of 400,000 miners in 7000 mines scattered over 23 states a strike. Perish the thought! It's merely a holiday. In the words of John Llewellyn Lewis: "We are notifying the miners of the termination of their agreement with the operators. Obviously, as you all know, the miners will not work without a contract. They will not trespass on the property of the coal companies. That would be a violation of the law . . . The mine workers will remain at home with their families . . . until the operators accord them decent and fair treatment. In a sense, they will be taking a rest which they need badly."

The soft coal operators and the United Mine Workers engaged in the most amazing sort of negotiations. Lewis presented the operators with no specific demands. He talked instead in general terms, and reviewed case after case of individual miners and their problems. When asked by the operators exactly what the U.M.A. wanted, Lewis replied: "You make me an offer." The tables of collective bargaining had truly been turned.

A wage increase did not seem to be in dispute, although Lewis gave no indication of the figure he had in mind. The operators, knowing full well that they could obtain price relief for any pay raise, were not likely to resist too strongly on this point. But the issue of the unionization of the foremen was a red flag before their eyes. Another Lewis favorite was the welfare fund, which operators estimated would cost them $60,000,000 a year.

By the middle of April the miners were enjoying their spring vacation, and Lewis, in disgust, had walked out of the negotiations. His parting shot left the operators somewhat speechless: "We trust that time, as it shrinks your purse, may modify your niggardly and anti-social propensities."

It was certain that time would also modify the price of coal, and shrink still further the purse of the consumer.

MORE LIGHT AND LESS HEAT — AT LAST

The legislative mills often grind slowly, but at times they grind exceedingly well. A case in point is the McMahon bill on atomic energy, officially designated the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which was unanimously approved on April 11 by the Senate's Atomic Energy Committee; Much bitterness, name-calling, revision, over four months of work, 110 witnesses and over 700,000 recorded words of testimony were necessary to achieve this surprising unanimity.

The biggest bone of contention was the Vandenberg amendment. At first it established a Military Liaison Board, appointed by President Truman, having the right of direct appeal to the Chief Executive if it disagreed

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with any action of the civilian control board on any matter affecting national defense and security. This measure had the dubious distinction of being howled down by practically every organized group in the country, and 24,851 letters jammed the committee's mailbox in protest.

The result was a greatly modified version of the Vandenberg amendment, which the committee unanimously adopted on April 2. The military Liaison Board's jurisdiction is to be restricted to the narrower sphere of "military applications" of atomic energy. In addition, the Board is to be appointed by the Secretaries of War and Navy. Their appeals are to be made to the cabinet heads, which may or may not, at their discretion, refer the matter to the President.

Unprecedented powers were given to an Atomic Energy Commission of five civilians, to be appointed by the President. The commission will have vast powers of property, plant, patent and mine ownership, and may purchase, condemn or requisition and compensate anyone who must yield rights or property related to atomic power. A licensing system is established to allow the use of fissionable materials by individuals, industry, medical and education institutions that seek to further atomic knowledge.

A watchdog group of nine senators and nine representatives is established to make a continuous study of the commission's activities and atomic policy. This check is considered necessary, since the commission is given about $500,000,000 a year to develop the beneficial as well as the military phases of atomic power.

A great many foreign countries have become interested in the work of the Senate committee. France has received permission to publish all of the 700,000 words of testimony, and Great Britain has asked for several hundred copies of the text.

ONE WORLD — STEP BY STEP

The problem of atomic control is a two-faced coin. The Atomic Energy Commission disposed of the domestic side of the controversy. There remains, however, the question of international control.

For agonizing and hectic days a five-man board, headed by T.V.A.'er David Lilienthal, wrestled with the problem. Its 78-page plan was submitted to Congress by the State Department, which called it a tentative proposal, "a place to begin, a foundation on which to build." Those who studied the plan termed it a good piece of straight thinking.

Previous to the report's publication, this country and the U.N. were on the horns of a dilemma over what to do with the knowledge of atomic energy. The only answer seemed a huge system of international inspection of every country's plants to guard against a surprise atomic attack. Yet international inspection by itself would accomplish little.

The basic premises of the new report were that at the present moment: (1) only uranium or plutonium can be used to make atomic bombs, and (2) plutonium can be "denaturalized" (made non-explosive) so that atomic energy can be used only for peaceful ends. From these facts, the board

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found its conclusion. "To establish the boundaries between international and national action we have grasped the fortunate circumstance that a dividing line can be drawn between dangerous and non-dangerous activities."

The new plan is for the U.N. to operate an Atomic Development Authority which would own all the world's deposits of uranium and thorium. Only A.D.A. would mine these deposits, and it would run the plants at Hanford and Oak Ridge. It would release only denatured plutonium to individual countries, which would in turn sell it to citizens for industrial and scientific use.

The report does not envisage an overnight millenium. The process is to be accomplished gradually, step by step. A specific series of stages is outlined, and A.D.A. must first prove itself capable of handling the first problem before it graduates to the second step. The United States is to give up its knowledge and plants only as A.D.A. provides adequate security by mastering the previous stages of the job.

WILL HOUSING BILLS BUILD HOUSES?

The Senate acted with record speed last month to further various housing proposals, and in the process gave the House a mild spanking. There are three main housing bills, in various stages of legislative enactment.

One, the Mead Emergency Housing Bill, has passed both houses and on March 28 was signed by President Truman. This provides $250,000,000 for 100,000 made-over temporary housing units (barracks, war housing, etc.) for 100,000 veterans. This is obviously a stop-gap measure of the first water.

The pet administration bill, however, is the Patman Act, which provides for a two-year program to build 2,700,000 homes. The House made short shift of the proposal, cutting from it the $600,000,000 subsidy feature which administration leaders consider necessary to break the crucial building materials bottleneck. The Senate, however, passed the Patman bill on April 10 after restoring the subsidy feature, but it also omitted the provision putting ceiling prices on the resale of existing houses and lots. The bill also guaranteed all pre-fabricators and other house manufacturers that they will have a market for every home they build in the next two years. A conference of House and Senate representatives will have to iron out the differences.

A more permanent housing measure is the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, designed to achieve a rounded program of 1,000,000 homes a year for 10 years. This bill recognizes that our housing problem is not a war phenomenom, but has been creeping upon the country for the last 50 years. Approved unanimously by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on April 4, it came before the whole Senate on April 11. The bill aims at unifying all housing activities of the federal government, now scattered through numerous agencies.

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Yes 1919, and this is 1946! How familiar the problems seem! New controversies emerge over wages and prices; Europe is threatened anew with starvation; again we face the problem of displaced persons; another international organization is stumbling along in its first steps. Will we make the same tragic mistakes, the same expensive blunders?

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FORUM FEATURES

David V. Cleary ("Trial by Court-Martial") is an automotive advertising writer and an occasional contributor of magazine articles. His normal career was interrupted, however, by a military career which lasted from October, 1941, until November, 1945. In the army, Mr. Cleary planned and wrote a number of army training films and served in ETO as company commander in a tank destroyer battalion.

Lewis A. Dexter, of Bryn Mawr College, obtained first hand information for his article, "Puerto Rican Puzzle", when he acted as visiting professor of political science at the University of Puerto Rico. Since then he has been a visiting professor at Talladega College and research associate at the University of Chicago.

Since 1943 **Manford Kuhn** has been assistant professor of economics and sociology at Mount Holyoke College. Before that time, he taught at Whittier College, California, and the University of Wisconsin, where he concentrated on adult education. Mr. Kuhn is the author of two chapters in the symposium, **Marriage and the Family,** edited by Howard Becker and Reuben Hill (D. C. Heath, 1942).

Born in Heidelberg, **Alexander Boeker** studied at the Universities of Munich, Berlin and Koenigsberg and at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. Since that time he has taught and studied political science at Harvard University. Before joining **Human Events,** where he is in charge of research, Mr. Boeker was a member of the staff of the **Chicago Journal of Commerce.**

A teacher by vocation, **Ed Ritter** was initiated "into the neglected, wistful world inside mental institution walls" as a result of his draft into Civilian Public Service. After serving in a fire-fighting camp near Sequoia National Park, he was assigned to duty in an eastern training school for mental defectives.

In turn soldier, farmer and teacher during the war, **Robert Francis** has returned to his home, "a small one-man house" called Fort Juniper, in Amherst, Mass., to devote his full time to writing. In 1938, he shared the Shelley Memorial Award and in 1942 won the Golden Rose of the New England Poetry Club. Three volumes of his poetry have been published: **Stand With Me Here** (1936), **Valhalla and Other Poems** (1938) and **The Sound I Listened For** (1944).

Five years ago, after successful and otherwise enterprises in other lines of the publishing business, **Sydney J. Harris** returned to his first love, the newspaper. In this case it was the **Chicago Daily News.** As a columnist, he is in his element: "The hours are my own, I write as I please and get my picture in the paper every day, which impresses restaurant hostesses and permits me to get seated faster for lunch."

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